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INSIDE

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'92

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# DATELINE '93

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## AWARDS

'92 The Overseas Press  
Club Annual Awards

page 19

## On The Cover

Two children leaving school for home wait for sniper fire to  
cease in the Dobrinja neighborhood of Sarajevo. The children  
are never far from the danger of war. Bullets have shattered  
their windows, and their lives. Their community has suffered  
greatly during recent fighting.

PHOTO BY CORINNE DUFKA, REUTERS



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# How the Overseas Press Club is responding to a world in turmoil

by Larry Smith  
OPC President

Do you realize there's enough clout in this room tonight to stop a war? Things are hopping as the Overseas Press Club of America presents its annual awards for best reporting from throughout the world. Membership is climbing, the club itself has found comfortable quarters in its snazzy new home just down the street in The Tudor, which has undergone a \$60 million renovation, and every program staged since September has been the equal of if not superior to most things on TV news specials.

The Overseas Press Club Foundation has stepped up contacts with young people. In addition to a January lunch at which two \$1000 scholarships were awarded, the Foundation presented with the Center for Communications only two weeks ago a daylong workshop on how to become a foreign correspondent. Scheduled speakers included Peter Arnett and Richard Roth of CNN, Tom Kent of the Associated Press, and Johanna McGeary and Marguerite Michaels of Time. The OPC Foundation has been reconstituted under the leadership of H.L. Stevenson, president of the OPC for the previous two years, and welcomes support, contributions and ideas.

As for programs, a month ago, in a talk startling for its moral power and force, the Bosnian Ambassador to the U.N., Muhamed Sacirbey, outlined with clarity and simplicity the shape of the conflict in Bosnia-Herzegovina as he told why he felt the U.N. should lift the arms embargo, make the no-fly zone stick and take out emplacements of Serbian guns that have slaughtered women, children and men.

That was March. In February, a panel from The New York Times, Reader's Digest, Business Week and Hearst told how their Russian-language publications were enjoying such popularity in Russia that they had become hot items on the black market. Can you imagine The New York Times or Reader's Digest as black market items?

Earlier that month, P.J. O'Rourke, author of *Parliament of Whores* and a



PHOTO BY EDDIE ADAMS

LARRY SMITH

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*For more information,  
call club manager Mary  
Novick at 212/983-4655,  
or our membership  
chairman, Janice Castro of  
TIME, at 212/522-3741.  
We need your support,  
so sign up.*

---

regular contributor to Rolling Stone, told us about Somalia. He was very funny and strong at the same time as he recounted how he found in that land a "complete breakdown of everything decent and worthwhile" in "a scene of near paleolithic ruin - except for the modern weapons" that were all over the place. Jeremy Schaap taped his talk and it's available for showing.

In January we moved out of the Women's Republican Club and into The Tudor. There's a new bronze sign outside advertising our presence, classic photographs hanging near the bar and discounts on the newly done rooms, the food and the liquor. And the joint is jumping every Sunday with a noontime brunch featuring two excellent jazz musicians. The January scholarship luncheon also featured Dick Thornburgh, the United Nations Under-Secretary General for management.

There was a Christmas party too, planned specially as a welcome for new members, that gave a sneak preview of The Tudor, and featured guitarist-

chanteuse Wendy Saivetz.

In December, we had Walter Issacson, an assistant managing editor of Time and the author of "Kissinger." In November, a panel featuring Allen Alter of CBS, Tom Kent of AP, author Donald Read and Josh Friedman, director of the international division of the Columbia Graduate School of Journalism, explored the challenge of keeping Americans alert to the importance of international news. October's speaker was author and biographer David McCullough, who told how Harry Truman compared with those two aspirants for the White House who kept invoking his name. McCullough's comments could have held a prime time audience single-handedly.

We opened in September over lunch with Annie Cohen-Solal, the sprightly French cultural attache, Jurek Martin of the Financial Times, and Mitja Mersol of the Slovenian newspaper Delo, assessing the Presidential race from across the water. In an OPC program several months earlier, Mersol accurately predicted the conflict that has devastated what used to be Yugoslavia.

These programs came to pass through the spirited work of Bill Holstein of Business Week, Andrew Nibley of Reuters, Steve Rago of The New York Times, former club president Victor Riesel and Jacqueline Simon of Politique Internationale. The Overseas Press Club of America has about 700 members worldwide, with reciprocal arrangements at clubs around the world.

Most significantly, we go to bat for reporters unjustly or illegally detained throughout the world. Norman Schorr, head of our Freedom of the Press Committee, works closely with the Committee to Protect Journalists and writes letters and finds ways to put pressure on all kinds of people. The club received special recognition last year from the AP for its efforts on behalf of Terry Anderson. We strive to enhance the status and safety of those engaged in international news-gathering. We think this is important. Why not join us in the effort? The dues are reasonable, not all members are irascible and we have a good time too. Furthermore, if you're a member, you get a break on the dinner ticket.





PHOTO BY GARY HERSHORN, REUTERS

The 42nd President of the United States, William Jefferson Clinton, delivers his inauguration address.

# No Dividing Line

## Domestic and foreign policy must be in step

By President Bill Clinton

We do not often examine our purposes in the world. It is human nature to focus most on daily affairs. In our own lives, we do our jobs, raise our children, and nurture our relationships one day at a time. Yet we are each guided by some sense of purpose, drawn from our families and our faith, which shapes the million small events of our life into a larger work that bears the imprint of our character.

So it is in the lives of nations. Decisions command attention. Crises drive actions. But it is only with an overriding sense of purpose, drawn from their history and culture, that great nations can rise above the daily tyranny of the urgent to construct their security, build their prosperity, and advance their interests.

A clear sense of purpose is most essential, yet most elusive, at times of global change. A half century ago, our

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*"... our work on the crises of the late 20th Century can lay the basis for a more peaceful and democratic world at the start of the 21st Century."*

---

nation emerged victorious from the Second World War to discover itself on unfamiliar terrain. The old empires of Europe and Asia were gone.

A new communist empire loomed. America was the only economy still strong. Dean Acheson later described it as a time of "great obscurity." But he and other leaders of the time saw clearly enough to help rescue Europe,

rebuild Japan, contain aggression, and foster two generations of unprecedented prosperity and peace.

Now, thanks to their vision, carried forward through succeeding generations - and to the courage of the people of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe - freedom has once again won a great victory.

Yet these victories also confront us with a moment of profound change. The collapse of the Soviet empire changed the international order. The emerging economic powerhouses of the Pacific are changing the financial order. The proliferation of demonic weapons threatens to change the distribution of military power. Resurgent ethnic conflict is challenging the very meaning of the nation state. The rise of a global economy has changed the linkages between our domestic and foreign policies and made them indivisible.

(continued on page 57)



**In times of turmoil...**

**It's time for  
Newsweek®**



# Changing demand for information a challenge

by William J. Holstein

Editor, Business Week's international edition  
Vice President of the OPC

The world is in unforeseen turmoil. From the obscure backwaters of Cambodia to the heart of Europe in the former Yugoslavia, people are being starved, bombarded, raped, and displaced. The American media has deployed itself to cover all this. But how good a job are we doing? And most critically, who is listening?

In one sense, we have enjoyed great success in shaping the entire national agenda. It was cutting-edge coverage of ethnic cleansing, death camps, and mass rape by correspondents like Newsday's Roy Gutman, winner of the OPC's award this year for best newspaper coverage from abroad, that put Bosnia at the top of many Western governments' and the United Nations' agenda. Similarly, the pictures and television film of starving children in Somalia triggered the big military relief effort.

But is that enough? Probably not. Too many news organizations have cut back their international news gathering operations, either ignoring some stories or covering them with low-paid stringers. What seems particularly distressing is that our audience, the American people, isn't nearly as interested as we think it should be. Aside from the occasional flareups like the Persian Gulf War or Boris Yeltsin's travails, the eyes of too many readers and viewers have glazed over. They don't want sensitive, detailed accounts of Bosnian Muslims negotiating with Bosnian Serbs. Our audience doesn't seem transfixed by the Khmer Rouge's comeback in Cambodia. All this is just too complex, too distant.

What's going on here? Most foreign editors and correspondents, in whatever is left of their souls, feel they have a responsibility to keep Americans informed about the world. Deeply instilled in our collective consciousness is the recognition that American isolation from, and ignorance of, the world is dangerous. That's how wars get started that drag in the U.S. That's how tyrants are nurtured.

But there are new dynamics in America that help explain at least part of our frustration. Americans elected Bill Clinton as President for precisely the reason that he was not preoccupied



REUTERS

Reporting on news, such as the developments in Moscow, now requires more than just description.

with foreign affairs of the Bushian sort; instead he promised to revitalize the U.S. economy. He recognized that in the absence of a Soviet "evil empire," Americans are interested first and foremost in their own homes, which often seem at risk. The earth also has shifted underneath our feet because of the incredible proliferation of channels of information.

Does that mean we as editors and correspondents must abandon foreign coverage and turn our backs on the innocents being slaughtered: No, it doesn't. But it does imply that we shift the mix of coverage. It implies that in addition to bombarding our readers and viewers with images of 4-year-olds being killed by shrapnel, we also offer a higher level of analysis about what can really be done. Suggesting answers is much tougher than describing the problem. The reason so many Americans hit their mental "off" buttons is not because they lack a conscience, but because they are overwhelmed by a sense of futility.

More broadly, the shifting of tectonic plates in the U.S. audience suggests that we must hit harder at the connective tissue between the average American and world trends and events. If Americans want to revitalize their economy, for example, that means focusing new energy on exports and international business strategies that create wealth. But if they are ignorant of different cultures and histories, they are sharply limited. And if instability or recession or political chaos threatens countries that are major markets, the Americans also will enjoy only limited success. Thus here is a need for information we can fill.

Problem is, many news organizations are not well staffed or organized

to tackle these kinds of issues. The business staff is short on international expertise and the foreign correspondents are short on business savvy. In the world of television, the aversion to covering international economics is even more complete. "There are only three things that are boring on television," says one of my electronic colleagues. "Economics, economics, and economics."

Another major piece of the connective tissue that we the media may be short-changing is immigration. One reason the Providence Journal-Bulletin won this year's Eric and Amy Burger Award for best human rights coverage is that reporter Karen Lee Ziner made a connection between 20,000 Southeast Asians living in Providence and events half a world away.

If we are to hammer away at the connective tissue between Americans and the world, it also seems that the American media, in general, is profoundly engaged with Europe, but much less so with Asia and Latin America. Aside from Japan and Canada, the country that is having the single greatest impact on American jobs right now is Mexico. As more companies shift production to northern Mexico in particular, communities in Missouri and Michigan are feeling the shock waves. Business Week's "Detroit South" cover story won an OPC award this year for showing these connections with Mexico.

None of this is to argue that we turn our backs on traditional hard-core coverage of the world's trouble spots. We must exercise a responsibility to lead and to shape opinion. But at the same time, we have to recognize the changing demands for information. The challenge of adapting will play out for years and it will require us to improve the caliber of our staffs at home and abroad. One can argue, for example, that having separate staffs to concentrate on local, business, and international news is increasingly artificial.

These changing times most definitely do not argue for reduced commitment to international coverage. If anything, they suggest that we should enhance the quality of foreign bureau and stringer networks, and the people back at headquarters need to be even more skilled in understanding the relevance of what is happening in far-flung places.



# Latin America

## SWAPS BULLETS FOR STOCKS

**S**AO PAULO, Brazil -

Leaving behind a decade of civil war, coups and invasions, Latin America is now the front line of a new battlefield in the war of emerging markets.

by Katharine Molinski

In the 1980's much of Latin America was convulsed by the transition - often violent - to democratic forms of government. Headlines revolved around death squads, insurgents, uprisings and military repression. The 1990's have brought a new focus to the region as the story of Latin America's political battlefields evolved to one of financial battlefields.

Gone are the gas-masked reporters braving teargas to get their stories. Gone are the photographers sporting flak jackets and dodging bullets.

In their place are battalions of fresh-faced young reporters outfitted in sharp business suits and armed with cellular phones. Specialists in sovereign debt, ADRs, bond issues and securities, the new Latin American reporter writes reams on economic policy, privatization of state firms, debt negotiations and a myriad of market news.

Economic information, loads of it, is the ammunition of this new war, as equity, commodity and debt traders scramble to get the scoop on news that could make or break them to the tune of millions of dollars.

How did this change come about? The beginning of the decade was marked by consolidation of democracy and a move by governments from Mexico to Argentina to embrace the concept of open, free-market economies.

Doors to markets that for decades had locked out foreign investment and free competition have suddenly been thrown open.

Governments have been selling off long-protected state-owned companies. Corporations, both public and private, have plunged headlong into international bond markets.

Latin America's so-called "Lost

Decade" in which the international financial community shunned the region due to foreign debt problems, rampant inflation, and chronic economic mismanagement, seems over.

Most major countries in the region have renegotiated, or are in the process of renegotiating their debt and have stabilized their economies.

As foreigners rushed to invest in markets with unbelievably low prices, regional stock markets skyrocketed, reaping some of the world's highest returns on investment.

The flurry of excitement over business opportunities in Latin America does not stop at the region's stock markets.

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between Mexico, Canada and the United States hopes to consolidate a powerful trading bloc.

In the south, Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay and Paraguay are in the process of forming another trading bloc, Mercosur, and its members are already discussing the possibility of ties to NAFTA.

There is danger, however, in the euphoria of the new Latin America, a region whose problems are as big as its potential.

Even as the markets boom, the ranks of the region's poor, disenfranchised and disgruntled, have grown.

In Brazil alone, an estimated 30 mil-



REUTERS

**Traders consult on the floor of the Mexico City stock market**

lion people live below the poverty line, leading new President Itamar Franco to institute social reforms and promise that the people would not be sacrificed in the name of free-market politics.

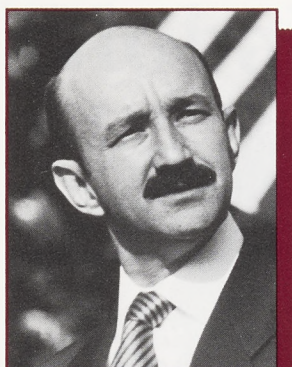
In Venezuela, dissatisfaction with the government of Carlos Andres Perez, which spearheaded the nation's free market reforms, has led to two military uprisings against the democratically elected government.

Peru, which shows tremendous potential for financial growth, threatens to do so at the expense of democracy after President Alberto Fujimori, backed by the military, disbanded the nation's congress.

If a journalistic spotlight remains on these types of political and social issues, it might help ensure that the battlefield in Latin America remains in the marketplace and not back on its streets.

*Katharine Molinski started the 1990's covering Panama and civil wars in Central America. She is now Reuters Chief Correspondent in Brazil.*





**CARLOS  
SALINAS DE  
GORTARI**

# President Salinas

## ADDRESSES THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB

**M**EXICO CITY - It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity to share with readers of DATELINE the Mexican people's experience and prospects in the face of new times the world is facing.

It is a great pleasure to have this opportunity to share with the readers of the Overseas Press Club of America Magazine the Mexican people's experience and prospects in the face of the new times the world is facing.

We are witnessing the emergence of a new era. In the economic sphere, the revolution in science and technology and the globalization of the economy are making a mark on our times. Politically, the end of the Cold War brought with it a significant reduction in the nuclear threat, but also the disappearance of the bipolar balance and renewed conflicts among long-standing regional antagonisms. Therefore, although there are hopes for the building of a more balanced new world order, uncertainty is also a sign of our times.

One substantive effect of the changes in the world is the multipolar nature of the international economy. Major economic areas are taking shape through which countries seek to raise their competitiveness by combining their productive capacities. The aim is to move ahead towards higher levels of development shared among nations, towards freer and more equitable trade. But there is also the risk that those areas will turn into closed blocs and that they will foster new forms of protectionism, leading to the threat of severe trade conflicts. It is therefore essential to strengthen multilateral interaction and support the establishment of new regional agreements to bring about effective international cooperation based on the rule of law, open trade and respect for the sovereignty of peoples.

This uncertain international scenario

poses new challenges for all countries. But in fact, it also gives rise to new opportunities for those who wish to use them for the benefit of their societies. Mexico decided to take advantage of those circumstances and has kept pace with global transformations, certain that by conducting its own changes it strengthens its sovereignty and generates great expectations and possibilities for social justice at home. During the past four years, we Mexicans have achieved major changes in the life of our nation. One of the country's goals is to extend the benefits stemming from its participation in international financial and trade exchanges to all regions of the country and all sectors of the population. We are convinced that economic growth must be compatible with environmental protection, respect for civil liberties and, above all, that it must be reflected in better living standards and in more advanced social justice.

Mexico's economic reform has two major aspects: stability, through reduced inflation and the elimination of the budget deficit; and structural change, through deregulation of economic activity, opening up to trade, divestment of state-owned enterprises and promotion of investment and exports. All this spurs productivity, makes our economy sound and promotes our development.

In this way, Mexico's government, business leaders and workers have formed a united front to face the challenge of productivity and competition, in order to develop the country's great industrial, commercial and tourism potential. At the same time, they are working in a spirit of solidarity and

joint responsibility towards achieving a basic level of well-being for all Mexican families.

As part of the strategy to make the best use of the opportunities offered by these new times, Mexico has increased its participation in international forums and has promoted diverse agreements to take advantage of its geographical position between North and South, and between Europe and the Pacific Rim. Thus, important accords and trade agreements have been established, and are being negotiated with different countries and regions. Among them, the first free trade agreement in Latin America between Mexico and Chile, and the future North American Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, the United States and Canada, whose purpose is for the three nations to obtain mutual benefits and better opportunities to compete successfully with Europe and the countries of the Asian Pacific. Mexico continues at the same time its efforts at diversification looking south to Latin America, as well as towards Europe and the Pacific Rim countries.

That is how Mexico has prepared itself to face the challenges of turbulent times, but times that hold great promise. We Mexicans want our trade relations to be clear, stable and based on mutual respect. With the confidence afforded by its ancient culture and its position as a sovereign nation, Mexico is determined to play its role in the world of the twenty-first century.

In this spirit, I would like to convey my best wishes and cordial greetings to the readers of the Overseas Press Club of America magazine.





## Thanks to Our Foreign Correspondents, A World in Turmoil Is Not Foreign To The Chicago Tribune.

Bosnia. Somalia. Baghdad. Yugoslavia. The number of flashpoints and danger spots around the world continues to reach epic levels, making this a time not only of insecurity and turmoil, but of heightened global interest and importance as well.

That's why the professional team of Chicago Tribune correspondents currently working in our foreign bureaus is so valuable to both the

Chicago Tribune and its readers. Their courage, their insights, their determination combine to provide the eyes and ears for people in the Midwest who can't witness these events firsthand, but can definitely feel their impact.

We salute the undaunted efforts of our foreign correspondents, who every day help to bring a world of turmoil into sharper focus.

**Thom Shanker**  
*Berlin*

**Gary Marx**  
*Buenos Aires*

**Tom Hundley**  
*Jerusalem*

**Liz Sly**  
*Johannesburg*

**Ray Moseley**  
*London*

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**Bob Rowley**  
*Toronto*

**Linnet Myers**  
*Warsaw*

# Chicago Tribune



# Global responsibility

## U.S. Securities industry must lead the way

by William H. Donaldson  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
New York Stock Exchange

Our equity markets and the U.S. securities industry face the challenge of defining their primary roles in a rapidly changing world. They find themselves in a dynamic era of expanding free enterprise, privatization worldwide of formerly state-owned concerns and a return to equity markets to replace the heavy debt burden of the 1980's.

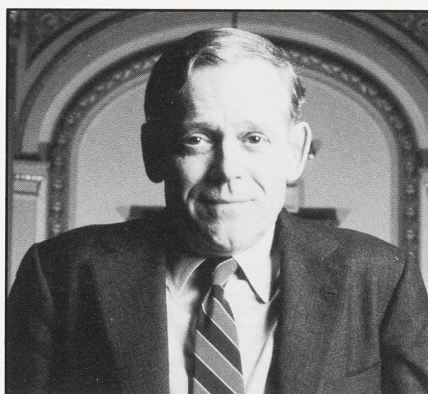
The opportunity presented by these changes is to create and maintain market standards that encourage the broadest possible ownership of equities. The risk is that some forms of competition among markets could lead to compromising the fiduciary responsibility to put the investor's interests above all else.

Experience in the United States demonstrates that the best way to meet that responsibility is by adhering to basic principles of fairness that include transparency, equality of access for all investors and the certainty that the interests of the intermediaries or dealers never come before that of the customer.

Those principles have been at the core of the NYSE for over 200 years and have helped America build a base of 51 million individual and more than 10,000 institutional shareowners. The rest of the world has yet to duplicate that breadth of ownership, which results in unmatched market strength and liquidity at what is the world's largest market, the New York Stock Exchange. It is an exchange, incidentally, where the \$4 trillion total market value of securities listed represents 86% of the total market value of all publicly held equities in the entire United States.

The NYSE had achieved its status through a system with deep historic roots supported by space-age technology. The system is a simple one: Bring all the orders to buy and sell each individual stock together in an auction setting, where agents representing investors compete openly to obtain the best possible price for their customers.

By permitting orders to meet directly, it is a system that minimizes dealer or intermediary involvement — hence, dealer cost — and assures that an order for 100 shares from a farmer in Iowa competes on an equal footing with a



DONALDSON

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*"U.S. markets must be given the opportunity to increase their global reach before other trading patterns are thoroughly established."*

---

million-share order from a Boston-based pension fund. Instant disclosure of transactions means that both kinds of investors come to the market with full knowledge of current market conditions.

Computers have made it possible to receive and execute most orders in a matter of seconds and to keep pace with trading currently averaging more than 250 million shares a day. NYSE systems are prepared to handle up to four times that volume if needed.

Last year, while observing its bicentennial, the NYSE broke records in all segments of its business. Volume exceeded 50 billion shares for the first time, and the 261 additional companies choosing to list their shares on the exchange topped the previous record by 55 percent. Currently, the Securities and Exchange Commission is conducting the first broad government study of U.S. securities markets since the 1970's.



At issue are practices emerging in recent years that divert orders away from the central market system, subverting competition among and between massed buyers and sellers, often depriving investors the opportunity to obtain the best and fairest price.

The practices in question include attracting volume by paying the intermediaries to divert their customer order flow into a particular market, making reciprocal arrangements with dealers in other markets, and other arrangements that may conflict with the fiduciary responsibility to seek the best order execution for the customer.

In our response to the SEC's request for comments, we have argued strongly for a national policy that assures maximum competition between buyers and sellers, promotes competition among markets toward that end while preserving the standards of fairness, openness and commitment to investor protection that make the NYSE market the model for the world. We believe that permitting orders to meet directly in a competitive auction market with minimal dealer intervention is as pure and as fair a price discovery process as exists anywhere. It is, simply stated, the most competitive manner in which to trade equities.

If U.S. markets are to maintain their global leadership, they must confront another challenge: rapidly increasing investor interest in building international rather than just domestic equity portfolios.

The NYSE welcomes many foreign visitors to its trading floor these days — among them, individuals charged with introducing private enterprise to nations previously under communist rule. Visitors often voice surprise that while NYSE lists some 120 foreign companies, the total is small by comparison with the over 2,000 eligible enterprises located around the world.

The reason for this limited foreign representation is U.S. regulatory insistence that any foreign company listing its stock in a U.S. market must adopt U.S. accounting standards. The purpose of that rule is, of course, investor protection. But U.S. investors are buying and selling those stocks anyway — more than \$500 billion worth annually at last count. To do so, they must trade (continued on page 44)



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*thomas  
jefferson*

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# Trade policy challenges ahead in '93

by Mickey Kantor  
U.S. Trade Representative

President Clinton has committed his Administration to a bold new economic agenda — an agenda for change. America's trade policy is an essential part of this comprehensive strategy. As President Clinton indicated in his recent speech at American University, U.S. economic interests are inextricably woven into the fabric of the global economy, and trade policy has a critical role to play in shaping the ties between American workers and consumers and the wider world economy.

Americans are concerned today about lost jobs, about their standard of living, and about threats to their future economic security. The President has proposed a bold economic plan that can give our entrepreneurs the incentive to create new, high-paying, high-skill jobs, and help individual Americans to acquire the skills and education necessary for such jobs. These kind of jobs are often found in industries with a strong export record, and this is where trade policy can provide important support for the President's program.

Trade policy can remove barriers that now prevent many of our most competitive industries from exporting such high value goods and services as electric power generators, super computers, movies, and insurance. We will use all the trade policy tools at our disposal to preserve and expand new opportunities for competitive American firms. At the same time we will do what is necessary to assure that our workers do not become the victims of policies abroad that seek to displace U.S. goods or services through subsidies, dumping or discriminatory procurement practices.

Virtually every week, a U.S. trade negotiating team is somewhere around the world - from Japan and China to Brazil and India - tackling specific trade problems. We are also involved in two major, comprehensive negotiations - the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations and the North American Free Trade Agreement - that could go far in removing barriers to trade and putting in place stronger rules for curbing unfair trade practices. Success in concluding these negotiations can not only open up new



KANTOR

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*"It will not be the policy of the Clinton administration to shield U.S. industries or workers from the dynamic changes in the world economy or from global competition."*

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business opportunities, but can help stimulate recovery by creating greater confidence in the business community that it is safe to invest in businesses that depend on trade.

Achieving a prompt agreement in the Uruguay Round remains a high U.S. priority. While considerable progress has been made, some important issues remain outstanding, particularly with respect to the detailed national commitments to increased market access in manufactured goods, agricultural products and services. Because it will be impossible to complete the negotiations within our existing fast-track authority that facilitates Congressional approval, we will seek a renewal of this authority from the Congress.

The Administration will also move forward promptly with the NAFTA. To this end we will negotiate supplemental agreements to protect the environment and strengthen worker standards and safety. Second, we will also address the need to provide further safeguards against import surges. Third, we will develop a comprehensive worker assistance program and fund environmental clean-up efforts along the U.S.-Mexican border.

While this Administration will thus pursue outward-looking, trade-expanding policies, we will not sit idly by while vital and competitive U.S. industries are threatened by foreign government subsidies and preferential procurement practices, or while foreign firms dump their products in our market from behind visible or invisible barriers that protect their own markets. The current slow-down in the world economy leads to particular temptations by foreign governments to use subsidies to prop-up employment in such high employment industries as steel and aircraft. We will do what we must to prevent U.S. workers from being harmed by such practices.

The economic dislocations caused by slow economic growth have made more difficult long term economic adjustments caused by technological change, by the globalization of production and by the emergence of new exporters in many developing countries and former communist countries as these countries have adopted more outward-looking and market-oriented economic policies. All of these changes are desirable since they will improve our economic well-being as well as our security. All of these changes, however, also create adjustment problems that cannot be ignored.

It will not be the policy of the Clinton Administration to shield U.S. industries or workers from the dynamic changes in the world economy or from global competition. Meeting competitive challenges is fundamental to the American character. However, this Administration intends to recognize the painful adjustments that many of its citizens are required to make, and will seek to assist those having to make the adjustments. At the same time, we will expect those who benefit from government assistance to do what they can to improve their own skills and ability to compete in the world marketplace.

Beyond these immediate concerns, we will pay increasing attention over the coming year to newer challenges, particularly the growing interaction between trade policy and environmental policy. Greater awareness of global environmental issues has led to increasing efforts at national, regional and

(continued on page 46)



# Sanctions: How much must the Iraqis suffer ?

By Barbara Nimri Aziz

Normally, after a massive war, and certainly following a thoroughly humiliating defeat of the villain, lessons are learned and a new peace is imposed. This is not the case with Iraq. More than two years after its removal from Kuwait by U.S.-led forces, the area remains in turmoil. Perhaps oil fields are safely under control and surely Iraq no longer threatens Israel. But things are far from settled. Iraq itself is a mess. Reconstruction is not possible; democracy is nowhere on the agenda, Iraq's subjugation to the victors seems out of reach; and Kuwait claims she still feels a threat from Baghdad.

Kuwait need not fear. For Iraq is really crumbling. Horribly. Sanctions are effectively destroying the economic and social fabric in a way that those military explosives could not. At the same time the bizarre postwar economy in operation there supports a thriving smuggling industry. Iraq's borders are a sieve for illegal goods of all kinds except, it seems, medicine.

The northern picturesque Kurdish area, and what has become known as the Shi'a south, continue to be highly unstable. Both received foreign government and U.N. support in the expectation that they might slip beyond Baghdad's control; it was said this would have dismembered the troublesome regime, rendering it harmless; and it would have given these people's nationalist aspirations a reality. There was talk of a Kurdish state in the north and a Shi'a province below the 32nd parallel. Neither plan worked out. As far as we know, the Kurdish millions who fled their homes have now spent their third bitter winter in refugee camps. Their economy is destroyed. Kurdish aspirations are in limbo, held back by capricious western support, by internal differences, also weakened by Turkish and Syrian efforts. As for southern Iraq, except for the marshes bordering Iran, there is little sign of Shi'a rebellion. Those who rose against Baghdad, after they destroyed their own museums and hospitals, were totally and swiftly crushed. The discontent that festers there now has no apparent outside support; it is well under Baghdad's control again.

Elsewhere within Iraq, U.S. and British attempts to foment separatist movements have aroused more popular support for the Iraqi regime than

whatever local dissent it fostered. "Iraq is one," they insist. Many citizens are inclined, if they must, to join their leader to prevent secession by the south.

The crushing sanctions have also backfired, in a manner of speaking, in the sense that public anger is directed to the U.N. and U.S.A., not against the Iraqi leadership. That their leader and his military elite live in comfort is not new to Iraqis. But that he should be immune while the sanctions kill them, lead Iraqis to conclude that they and their civilization, and not the feared president are the objects of the severe embargo. Widespread deprivation and death continue to plague Iraqis, rich and poor, urban and rural. The common people, not the regime seems to be the target of the sanctions. The deterioration underway there is a

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*"Widespread deprivation and death continue to plague Iraqis . . . The common people, not the regime, seem to be the target of the sanctions."*

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bizarre process to witness and one can offer no explanation to the confused population.

There has never been such a relentless, punishing sanction in history. Coming after a military defeat, it is taking a staggering toll, with deaths due to malnutrition and disease now exceeding those caused by the massive bombing. The embargo is proving particularly deadly on a country which relied so heavily on imports. Animal vaccines, poultry food, farm and hospital machinery, building materials all were imported.

But the sanctions have gone beyond the limits of the U.N. resolution. This sinister effect is particularly evident in the supply of medicines — an area where Iraq was totally dependant on imports; an annual prewar trade of 450 million dollars dropped to nil.

Apart from small supplies, (less than 10 percent of needs) shipped in by relief agencies, no medicines have entered the besieged nation since August 1990.

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*"Healthcare specialists are joining the stream of refugees leaving the country."*

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Orders to former suppliers remain unanswered. Iraq's use of foreign assets to make critical medical purchases are blocked. Ironically, hospitals repaired after the bombing find themselves unable to cope with health problems due to lack of medicines.

Finally, adding to the crisis, health care specialists, frustrated by those shortages, are joining the stream of refugees seeking to leave the country. A million Iraqis may have already left, most of them professionals while those making fortunes in the growing illegal food trade are finding ample work within Iraq.

Many of the relief agencies, finding themselves enmeshed in the U.N.'s dispute with the Baghdad authorities over control of food and medical supplies, have abandoned their projects. This too gives smugglers from neighboring countries more avenues for profit. Turkey, Iran and Syria are now the main entry points for illicit trade into Iraq.

The reasons for the continued embargo, we are told, have to do with Iraq's compliance with the U.N. resolution calling for total demolition of the defeated nation's weapons of mass destruction. Regular reports by weapons inspection teams appear to indicate progress. But neither the American or British governments seem satisfied.

Wrangling over details continues at periodic U.N. Security Council review sessions. Sanctions stay in place with new terms imposed for compliance in a deadly game that generates further contempt in Iraq for the West while Saddam Hussein remains in power and sympathy for the besieged nation grows among a more embittered Middle East and Third World community.

*Aziz is an anthropologist with many years experience in Iraq who writes for the Christian Science Monitor and The Manchester Guardian.*





PHOTO BY JIM HOLLANDER, REUTERS

Masked Islamic fundamentalists of the Hamas strike force display weapons, including hatchets, as they rally at the

Nuseirat refugee camp. Arab and Israeli clashes here have been among the bloodiest.

# Islamic fundamentalism

## Arabs turn to Mosques for new solutions

By **Ethan Bronner**  
Middle East Correspondent  
The Boston Globe

On one side they gathered by the thousands, mostly men, mostly young, in unadorned gowns, their meticulously unrolled prayer mats offering incongruous color to the cracked, grimy streets, their hands and eyes facing heavenward, mouths chanting in unison to the preaching from the mosque loudspeaker.

On the other side were the soldiers in crisp camouflage, sitting rigidly in their jeeps and wagons, the bayonets of their AK-47's glinting in the sun. "We are

poor, you are rich," crackled the voice of the prayer leader, addressing the soldiers and their masters. "But we have patience. God is our witness."

The place was the Bab-el-Oued section of Algiers; the moment, shortly before the aborted general elections in January, 1992, which, had they been permitted to proceed, would almost certainly have brought a fundamentalist Islamic government to the former French colony of 25 million.

There may be no more apt image for the Middle East in 1992.

It is true that the year brought a new government to Israel pledging territorial compromise and conciliation in peace negotiations, offering the possibility of a negotiated settlement to the Palestinian dispute and a changed regional order.

It is also true that after a decade and a half of abominable civil war in which it shelled and shot and kidnapped itself

into near oblivion, Lebanon found a measure of stability and hope in a new government of national reconciliation, albeit under vigilant Syrian occupation.

And, it is true that in the Gulf, Kuwait held elections, the first expression of democracy since the people's assembly was dissolved in 1986, and Saudi King Fahd took the initial steps toward setting up a consultative council which might eventually enjoy a smidgen of authority.

But what seems best to sum up the Middle East in the era immediately after the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the U.S.-led war on Iraq is the indignant rage and hopelessness felt by millions of ordinary Arabs and Muslims who are increasingly attracted to an Islamic solution.

Americans may envisage the post-Cold War era as the dawning of a bold (continued on page 40)



**A YOUNG  
SOMALIAN GIRL  
LOOKS WITH  
HUNGER TO A  
GRIM FUTURE.**



PHOTO BY ERIC FEFERBERG, AFP

## Somalia's needs shifting from famine relief to reconstruction

by David Chazan  
Agence France-Presse

Somalis strolled along the banks of the Shebelle river at dusk to inspect a bridge Australian engineers had finished building in Belet Wen that day.

Two hours later, a mob of looters was tearing it apart piece by piece.

They carried away their spoils under the noses of Somali policemen, members of a new force formed with the help of U.S.-led troops protecting famine relief from armed robbers.

Canadian soldiers arrived to see the bridge, intended to help restore hope in the ruins of embattled Somalia, being reduced to a piece of scrapyard junk.

The episode illustrated the enormous difficulties facing United Nations troops struggling to disarm Somalia, wrest power from the warlords and restore civilian authority.

An agreement by 15 chiefs of warring factions to establish an interim government and disarm their fighters has brought hope of release from the

brutal cycle of war and famine.

But the accord was only reached under massive international pressure, and many experts caution that it is still fragile.

The U.N. says Somalia's needs are shifting to reconstruction aid rather than famine relief.

But most aid workers say Somalia will never really be able to pick up the pieces without lasting political stability.

National institutions including the police and the army crumbled after dictator Mohamed Siad Barre was deposed in January 1991.

Somalia was plunged into self-destructive clan wars of a ferocity unprecedented even for a continent in constant turmoil.

Famine spread through the barren scrublands of the desert nation on the Horn of Africa, prompting former U.S. president George Bush to send troops last December.

The famine killed about a quarter of the nation's children in 1992, U.N. officials estimate. Now, with foreign sol-

diers escorting food convoys into Somalia's hungry hinterland, most of the needy are being fed. But almost everything in Somalia has to be rebuilt.

Its infrastructure, never more than rudimentary, was destroyed during two nightmare years of anarchy when roving gangs of gunmen stripped the country bare.

While children starved or died for lack of medicines to treat diseases such as measles, doped-up thugs robbed and raped with impunity.

In Mogadishu, they stole the roofs from houses and dug up the streets to loot copper cables. What they couldn't take, they simply smashed.

The multinational forces want to disarm Somalia in the hope that political leaders will emerge once the threat of militia violence lessens.

Somalia has been awash with guns for decades - the grim legacy of the Cold War years when Moscow and later Washington pumped in money and weapons because the country was considered strategically important.

The U.S.-led troops have claimed a fair measure of success in seizing heavy weapons. But light arms and Kalashnikovs are still commonplace.

Carrying weapons is traditional for Somalia's mainly nomadic clansmen, who boast a strong warrior tradition and have fought for centuries over water and grazing for their camel herds.

The faction leaders say they are disarming their fighters, and are seeking international help to rehabilitate them for civilian life.

But many Somalis have simply buried their weapons as insurance against the day chaos returns, and the U.S.-led forces have been caught in clan battles as they have tried to end gun law.

The smaller United Nations force taking over in Somalia faces problems the U.S.-led troops managed to avoid by limiting their intervention to the "famine zone" in the southern third of Somalia, say diplomats and aid workers.

The U.N. force is to look after the whole country, and officials say it may be spread too thin.

"We're going from a very small mandate to a huge mandate," said U.N. special envoy Admiral Jonathan Howe.

The success or failure of the U.N.'s new 1.5 billion dollar a year operation in Somalia may also influence international intervention in other countries that seem unable to govern themselves like Bosnia and Cambodia, diplomats say.



# A journey

## From business to bullets, a mid-life decision

by Kurt Schork  
REUTERS

SARAJEVO - I landed in Hong Kong on my 43rd birthday, intent on becoming a foreign correspondent. My credentials were unimpressive: no reporting experience, no contacts in Asia, minimal language skills.

The lure was adventure, and the challenge of building a new career without relying on the safety net of my twenty years in government and business. It was a humbling experience. Journalism is a guild profession with one set of rules for members and another for those on the outside — which is where I found myself.

Asia does not want for talent. Editors are swamped with queries from anxious freelancers. I soon got used to not having my calls returned. How could I complain? I had done nothing to distinguish myself from the pack.

A game plan evolved: write well from places so dangerous there would be no competition. I found plenty of dangerous spots, all filled with reporters. Many wrote circles around me. The South China Morning Post indulged my long, brooding pieces from Vietnam, Cambodia, Sri Lanka, Kashmir and Afghanistan. I cracked The Washington Post, my hometown paper, with a feature on women in Pakistan.

After a year on the circuit in Asia, the Gulf War loomed. Having managed, like Bill Clinton, to go to Oxford instead of Vietnam, I was determined not to miss a second American War. Uncredentialed, I headed for the middle east, still hoping to make a name.

Three colleagues and I swam a snow-melt swollen river from Turkey into Northern Iraq in time to witness the last of the Kurdish rebellion. Swept up in the panicked flight of more than a million refugees, I decided to make Kurdistan my story. It wasn't easy. Hundreds of hacks from the world's major agencies and newspapers descended on northern Iraq. Unable to move articles, I sold photographs.

In August, after everyone had left, Reuters took me on as a stringer. Kurdistan had no phones and I had no communications gear, so I had to get to the Turkish border to file. More than



PHOTO BY CORINNE DUFKA, REUTERS

Correspondent Kurt Schork (center, holding woman's shoulders) carries an injured civilian following an artillery attack in a Sarajevo cemetery.

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*"A game plan evolved:  
write well from places so  
dangerous there would be  
no competition."*

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once I drove 14 hours from southeastern Kurdistan to the bridge at Habor, just to send 60 lines.

My break came on October 7, 1991 in the Kurdish city of Sulaimaniyah. Iraqi soldiers had been shelling the city for two days, inflicting hundreds of civilian casualties.

Enraged Kurdish peshmerga (those who go before death) guerrillas counter-attacked. Late that Monday I went in with them on an infantry assault across an open field. There was the usual hum and saw of bullets, and a sound like rustling leaves as lead ripped through knee-high crop stubble. Men were falling and dying as cries of "Allahu Akbar - God is great" drifted over the battlefield. I had never felt so alive. The Kurds captured the Iraqi garrison that day. Then they executed every prisoner — more than sixty by

my count. Some they shot point blank before my eyes, others they beat to death with the butts of their kalashnikovs. My copy and photographs from that afternoon caught Reuters attention. Soon I had a satellite telex, freeing me to roam and file at will. Kurdistan became my passion, reporting, my craft.

After 15 months in northern Iraq, Reuters sent me for a six-week stint in Kabul and then on to Sarajevo. The transition was like going from regional theater to Broadway.

Kurdistan and Afghanistan were solo efforts. Unburdened by telephones, I was on my own for days, sometimes weeks at a time. The Bosnian civil war is such a big story, everything turns on the desk. I've learned to lean on my editors for support and to anticipate their needs. It feels good to be part of a team.

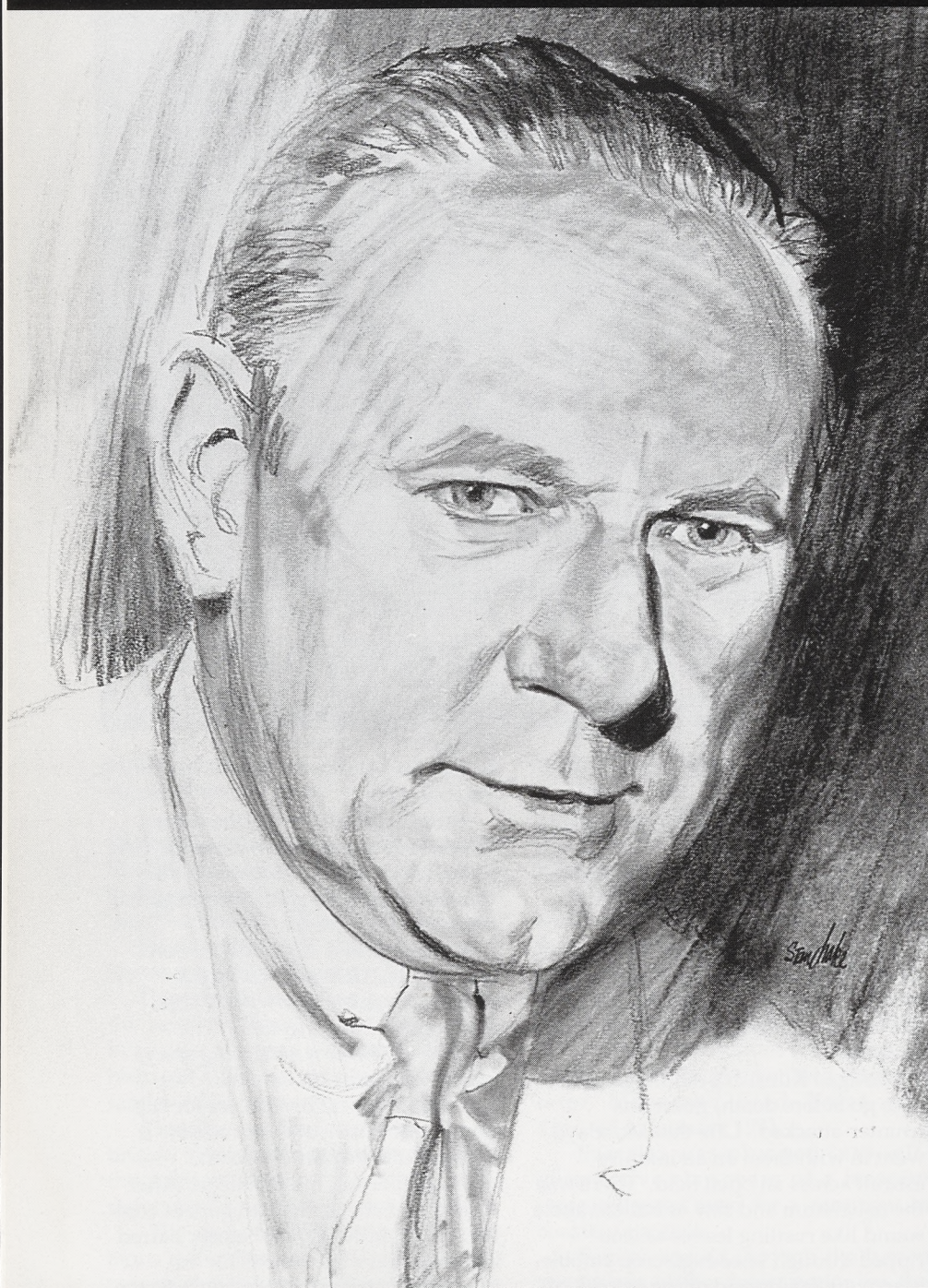
War reporting is a privilege. After three years, the grime and gore of combat, the dreadful logic of ethnic hatred are no longer abstractions for me.

More important, every day I see the grace and dignity of ordinary people trying to survive under extraordinary circumstances. "Reporter," I say, when asked what I do. Only those in the business really know what I mean.



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# Compass Correction: *Journalists head into a multi-polar world*

By Frank Sesno  
CNN International Hour

It was just ten years ago that President Ronald Reagan drew headlines and expressions of horror when he referred to the Soviet Union as an "evil empire." Such blunt and provocative talk aimed at a nuclear-tipped superpower was hardly standard Presidential fare. Conservatives cheered, liberals were aghast, and diplomats were speechless. Reporters, however, had a field day. It was the kind of comment that reflected the apocalyptic times in which we lived. And it made splendid copy.

Those times are gone now, and with them the swaggering rhetoric and the facile characterizations of good versus evil, democracy versus tyranny. Instead, we have a multi-polar world where 'human rights' and 'democracy' mean different things to different people, a global economy where policy-makers struggle to define national interests and strategic purpose. Journalists, too, are confronted with the daunting and complex challenge of taking a confusing new world, riddled with nationalism and strife, and making it comprehensible and relevant. In many ways, the old compass of the Cold War made our jobs easier. We could navigate through the mountains of Central America, the jungles of Southeast Asia, the deserts of Africa with a consistent sense of direction. From Angola to El Salvador, these were the superpowers' battlefields. The story and the stakes were huge, or so it seemed. Ten years ago, little Grenada was a towering test of wills. Ascribe to the premise or challenge it, there was a unifying theme, a "peg" on which to hang most any story.

Now, however, the battlefields have lost their global context. In place of the Great Conflict, there are so many smaller ones we grow numb and lose count. Each day we flash up new maps and write of new horrors. Armenia, Georgia, Bosnia, Sudan, Somalia. Warlords and generals. Enclaves and nationalities. As we lose count, there is an equal danger that we will lose interest. Many of the places and stories that were deemed newsworthy just a few years ago are today largely forgotten. Absent the superpower context, what is



ED GAMBLE, THE FLORIDA TIMES-UNION

the interest in Nicaragua? How many heroic undercover reporting forays into Afghanistan have there been of late?

But, like history, journalism has not ended. There are stories to tell and gripping human events to chronicle. If anything, the need to explain the complexities and consequences of events far away is more important. The brave reporting from the former Yugoslavia demonstrates the point. What is at stake is the fate of its many peoples, the will of the international community, the stability of the entire region and the direction the many ethnic groups in the former Soviet Union may take.

The job of journalism has been further transformed by technology, which has brought a new order of its own. Real time reporting has become the norm. Technology allows the whole world to watch the same drama at the same moment. Pictures can be transmitted via satellite from remote villages that have never seen electricity. Instant information and imagery generate instant opinions. We see the starving children and wounded civilians and react. Somalia is a case in point. The unprecedented humanitarian effort there was forged by a global revulsion at the death of a nation.

Increasingly, this real time imagery defines the debate and drives the policy. A senior Bush Administration foreign policymaker disclosed recently that at certain times of crisis, he would order his subordinates to turn off their television sets, to avoid watching CNN,

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*"In place of the Great Conflict, there are so many smaller ones we grow numb and lose count."*

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because he feared they would respond more to the pictures and the shot-from-the-hip pronouncements than the cool logic of their craft. In a world where time and distance have shrunk, even those of us who clamor for comment recognize the need for deliberation.

For journalists, this world in turmoil presents vast new challenges and sobering new responsibilities. Our job is fundamentally unchanged: we go where we must go and we tell the story as accurately and compellingly as we possibly can. But our words and our pictures have added weight and dimension in a world that is uncertain and undefined. The television report from Kismayu, the radio piece from Kiev, the newspaper article from Srebreni must explain difficult new realities from new places.

The evil and the empire that Ronald Reagan spoke of ten years ago have shattered. We have chronicled an unprecedented moment in human history. Now comes the hard part: sorting our way through the wreckage and the international structure that will be built in its place.



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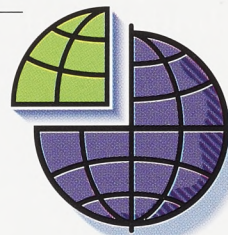


*Business Week's* international edition and its 4 local-language editions are good examples. In 1986, we pioneered *Business Week/China*. In 1990, we became the first major American magazine to publish a Russian-language edition in the Soviet Union. And *Business Week's* Hungarian and Polish editions serve the emerging East European economies.



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# AWARDS

# '92

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OVERSEAS  
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CLUB

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These awards are the Overseas Press Club's salute to the courage and devotion of the men and women who labor so mightily to bring the truth home to us.

ANNUAL  
AWARDS

*by Allan Dodds Frank*

**B**loodshed, this time most frequently in Serbia, was again an unfortunate staple of reporting from abroad. So were the injuries and death suffered by our colleagues as they sought to bring the world news of horrible slaughter, news that many journalists hope will enlighten the global powers enough to stop the killing.



OPC AWARDS  
CHAIRMAN FRANK

While Serbian atrocities dominated the news, there was plenty of action in the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. Coverage of famine in Africa, especially Somalia and the Sudan, was exceptional as were stories about the plight of women in the world of Islam. In Asia, economic developments,

particularly moves toward some form of capitalism in China, came into sharper focus, thanks to some wonderfully detailed reporting. Still, there were gripping stories about the horrors facing refugees in Cambodia.

This year, nearly 400 entries submitted in 17 categories to the Overseas Press Club, were dispatched from all over the globe, with winners also coming from stories on Haiti, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Mexico and Vietnam.

**A**s usual, our team of dedicated judges devoted days to assessing this large and fine body of work submitted by dozens of news organizations, large and small, which exhibited the commitment necessary to keep the public informed.

These awards are the Overseas Press Club's salute to the courage and devotion of the men and women who labor so mightily to bring the truth home to us.

We thank them all.



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## AWARDS

**ROY GUTMAN**  
Newsday

**THE HAL BOYLE AWARD**  
Class One

For Best Daily Newspaper Or Wire  
Service Reporting From Abroad

*"Human Rights Abuses In Bosnia"*

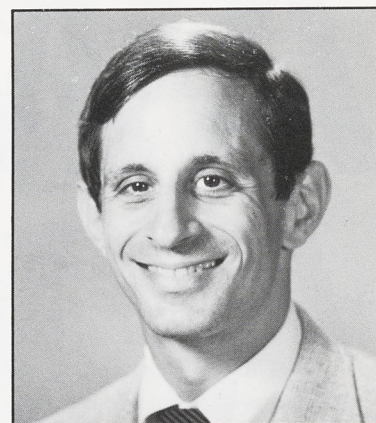
In a potent series of stories, Gutman recounts the rape and pillage of Bosnia by Serb militants. Following the trail of blood, torture and sexual assault to remote villages, his stories document the barbarous process known as "ethnic cleansing." Gutman found massive evidence of shelling of civilians, wanton murder of Muslim non-combatants, including many women and children, Nazi-style concentration camps and the systematic expulsion of more than one million Muslims.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From AT&T

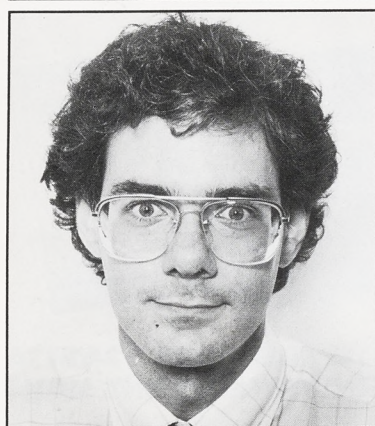
CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

Blaine Harden, Mary Battiata  
The Washington Post  
*"Civil War In Yugoslavia"*

Keith Richburg  
The Washington Post  
*"Somalia"*



GUTMAN



FISHER

**MARC FISHER**  
The Washington Post

**THE BOB CONSIDINE AWARD**  
Class Two

For Best Daily Newspaper Or Wire Service Interpretation  
Of Foreign Affairs

*"Transition Of A Unified Germany"*

Fisher provides some fascinating insights into the historic transition of Germany from a divided to an undivided nation. The euphoria of the unification has been replaced by a sobering aftermath.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From King Features Syndicate

CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

John Thor-Dahlberg  
The Los Angeles Times  
*"Soviet Nuclear Legacy"*



DELAHAYE

**LUC DELAHAYE**  
Sipa Press

**THE ROBERT CAPA GOLD  
MEDAL AWARD**  
Class Three

For Best Photographic Reporting From Abroad Requiring  
Exceptional Courage And Enterprise

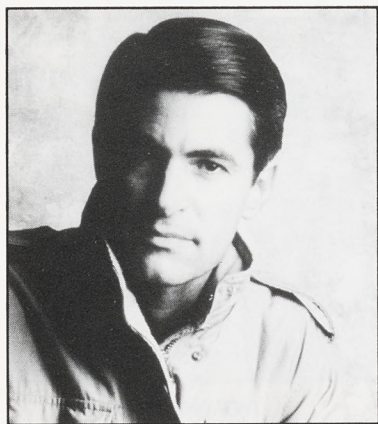
*"Sarajevo: Life In The War Zone"*

From a long and extremely risky assignment, Delahaye's vivid and courageous images speak volumes about the siege of Sarajevo.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 And Gold Medal From LIFE



## AWARDS



NACHTWEY

**JAMES NACHTWEY**  
The New York Times Sunday Magazine  
**THE OLIVIER REBBOT AWARD**  
Class Four A  
For Best Photography In Magazines Or Books

*"Somalia 1992 - The Casualties"*

Nachtwey's photographic essay from Baidoa, Somalia, is unforgettable. Especially searing is his photograph of a Somali woman, too weak to stand, still begging even as she is transported by wheelbarrow from a hospital to a feeding center.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 And Plaque From Newsweek

CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

George Steinmetz  
National Geographic  
*"Milan: Where Italy Gets Down To Business"*

Mike Persson  
Agence France-Press (For Newsweek)  
*"Sarajevo: A City On Its Knees"*

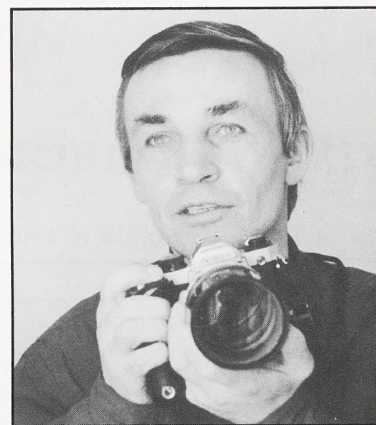
**ANATOLY MORKOVKIN**  
The Associated Press  
**THE EASTMAN KODAK AWARD**  
Class Four B  
For Best Photography In Newspapers Or Wire Services

*"Ethnic War"*

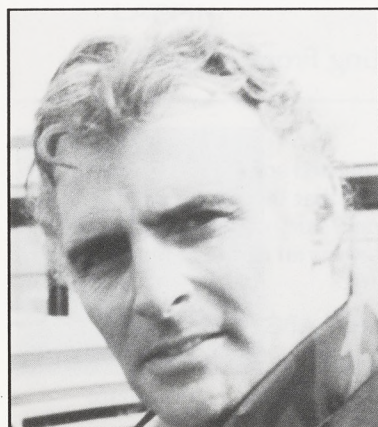
Morkovkin froze in action Ossetian gunmen and victims in the southern Russian village of Vladikavkaz as they shot their way through the village's middle-class neighborhood.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From Eastman Kodak Professional Photography Division

CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE  
Gerard Michael Lodriguss  
The Philadelphia Inquirer  
*"Barcelona Olympics 1992"*



MORKOVKIN



MILIANO

**LOU MILIANO**  
WCBS  
**THE BEN GRAUER AWARD**  
Class Five  
For Best Radio Spot News From Abroad

*"In Somalia"*

As he did in last year's winning entry with his coverage of Operation Desert Storm, reporter Lou Miliano has again put together the sounds of a nation in conflict. His coverage of the United States' rescue operation in Somalia is a model of intelligence and imagination in radio spot news reporting.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From The Overseas Press Club



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## AWARDS

**DEBORAH WANG, REPORTER**  
**MELISSA BLOCK, PRODUCER**  
National Public Radio

### THE LOWELL THOMAS AWARD

Class Six

For Best Radio Interpretation Or Documentary  
Of Foreign Affairs

*"The Journey Home: Cambodian Refugees  
On The Cusp Of Return"*

Wang and Block's "Journey Home..." is broadcast reporting of the highest order: moving, visual, and literate. Their story, of Cambodian refugees starting home again after years of waiting in camps, is perfectly realized.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From Capital Cities / ABC News

#### CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

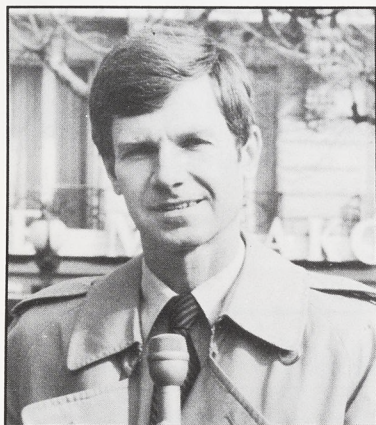
**Pam Rauscher, Joel H. Komisarow**  
CBS Radio  
*"A New World Order"*



WANG



BLOCK



KLADSTRUP

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**DON KLADSTRUP, CORRESPONDENT**  
**STEVE SCHNEE, PRODUCER**  
**TIM MANNING, CAMERA**  
**NICK PRINCE, EDITOR**

ABC "World News Tonight With Peter Jennings"

### THE DAVID KAPLAN AWARD

Class Seven

For Best Television Spot News Reporting From Abroad

*"Somalia"*

Among outstanding reports, Kladstrup's coverage merited special recognition for showing the world Somalia "as it is." Recognizing that there is no need to embellish death and disaster, Kladstrup's straightforward story came through in the faces and shrunken bodies of the Somalis, giving viewers an agonizing look at sheer hunger and inhumanity.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From Capital Cities / ABC News

#### CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

**James Walker, James Bamford, Klaus Bratt**  
ABC News "World News Tonight With Peter Jennings"  
*"Prisoners Of War / Missing In Action Scams"*



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## AWARDS

### GWYNNE ROBERTS

Frontline / BBC

#### THE EDWARD R. MURROW AWARD

##### Class Eight

For Best Television Interpretation Or Documentary On Foreign Affairs

##### *"Saddam's Killing Fields"*

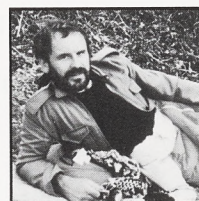
Touring with exiled Iraqi writer Kanan Makiya film-maker and director Gwynne Roberts penetrated Kurdish-held portions of Iraq to document the atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein's regime against the Kurds.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From CBS News

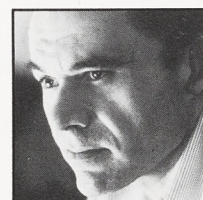
##### CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

Katie Couric, Bryant Gumbel, Jeff Zucker  
NBC "The Today Show"

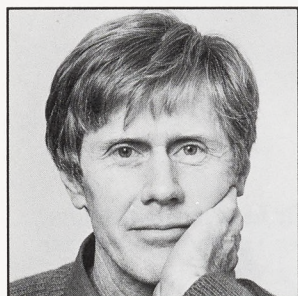
*"One Weeks Special Coverage From Africa"*



ROBERTS



MAKIYA



SHELL

### ORVILLE SCHELL TODD LAPPIN

The Nation

#### THE ED CUNNINGHAM MEMORIAL AWARD

##### Class Nine

For Best Magazine Reporting From Abroad In Magazines

##### *"Capitalist Leap: China Plays The Market"*

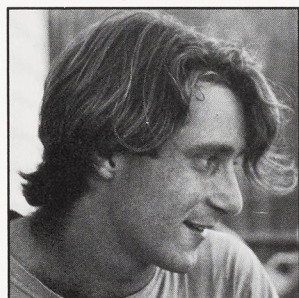
This compelling, easy-to-digest article raised the curtain on a magic trick China had pulled off when most of the world wasn't watching: its creation, acceptance and endorsement of capitalistic-style financial markets. The story combined considerable research with original reporting to provide a fascinating look at how the Chinese government encouraged the development of financial markets while spouting devotion to socialism.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From The Overseas Press Club

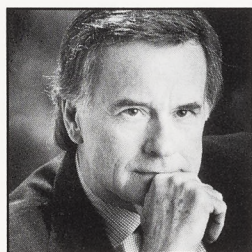
##### CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

Karen Breslau, Charles Lane, David Hackworth,  
Joel Brand, Rod Norland  
Newsweek International

*"Yugoslavia Coverage"*



LAPPIN



WRIGHT

### DON WRIGHT

The Palm Beach Post

#### BEST CARTOON ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS

##### Class Ten

With a keen eye on international events and a steady, artistic hand, Wright produced an amusing, articulate collection of editorial drawings that took dead aim at everyone from Saddam Hussein to the former Soviet Union.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From The New York Daily News

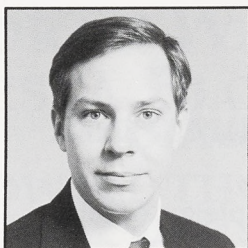
##### CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

Ed Gamble  
Florida Times-Union

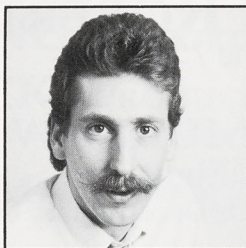


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## AWARDS



BAKER



WOODRUFF



WEINER

### STEPHEN BAKER ELIZABETH WEINER DAVID WOODRUFF AND TEAM

Business Week

#### THE MORTON FRANK AWARD

Class Eleven

For Best Business Reporting From Abroad In Magazines

*"Detroit South"*

This story telegraphed Mexico's role in North American manufacturing in the coming decade. By focusing on the auto industry, Business Week offered important lessons about the meaning of the North American Free Trade Agreement for manufacturing executives, workers and consumers alike.

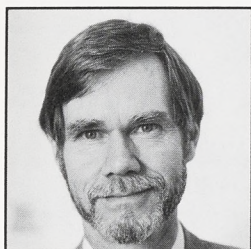
Honorarium Of \$1,000 From The Children Of Morton Frank

CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

Subrata N. Chakravarty

Forbes

*"Getting The Elephant To Dance"*



CAREY

### PETER CAREY LEWIS SIMONS The San Jose Mercury News

#### THE MALCOLM FORBES AWARD

Class Twelve

For Best Business Reporting From Abroad  
In Newspapers Or Wire Services

*"Profits And Power: Japan's Foreign Aid Machine"*

A detailed series that documented how Japan uses its foreign aid program as a weapon to win lucrative business for Japanese companies, often while pressuring foreign governments .

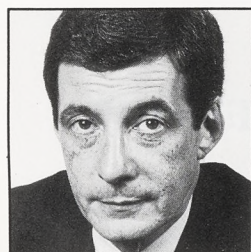
Honorarium Of \$1,000 From Forbes Magazine

CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

Luke Britt

Stars And Stripes

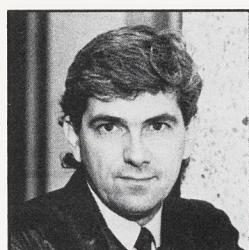
*"Military Car Sales: Wheeling And Dealing"*



SIMONS



## AWARDS



GJELTEN

**TOM GJELTEN, CORRESPONDENT**  
**JULIE MCCARTHY, EDITOR**  
National Public Radio

### THE CARL SPIELVOGEL AWARD

#### Class Thirteen

For Best Business And/Or Economic News Reporting From Abroad  
By A Broadcaster



MCCARTHY

#### *"From Marx To Market"*

This five-part series cleverly illuminated the problems facing the Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe as they move toward market economies. Moving from Albania to Poland, these well-paced stories explored the promises of a market economy and the inevitable complications that are arising in agriculture, manufacturing, merchandising and environmental protection.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From Barbara Diamonstein-Spielvogel

#### CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

Garrick Utley  
NBC "Sunday Today"

*"BCCI: The Bank Of Crooks And Criminals International"*

**MISHA GLENNY**  
National Public Radio

### THE CORNELIUS RYAN AWARD

#### Class Fourteen

For Best Book On Foreign Affairs

#### *"The Fall Of Yugoslavia: The Third Balkan War"*

Glenny's book is a potent combination of on-the-spot reporting, graceful, lucid prose and courage under very difficult, and often dangerous, conditions. The book focuses on the so-called Third Balkan War, the conflict that erupted after Croatia and Slovenia declared independence in 1991.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From The Anita Diamant Literary Agency

#### CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

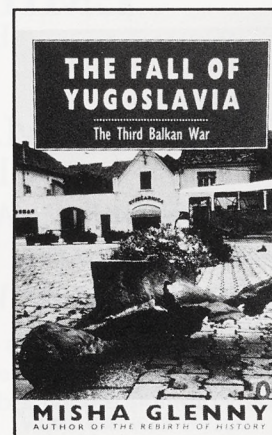
Brian Duffy, Peter Cary, J. Gallagher And Staff  
U.S. News & World Report

*"Triumph Without Victory: The Unreported History"*



GLENNY

In his penetrating new book, the BBC's celebrated Central Europe correspondent paints incisive pen portraits of the colorful - and often utterly ruthless - personalities involved in the fall of Yugoslavia (right).  
- Penguin Books





## AWARDS



SCROGGINS

**DEBORAH SCROGGINS, WRITER**  
**JEAN SHIFRIN, PHOTOGRAPHER**  
The Atlanta Journal-Constitution

### THE MADELINE DANE ROSS AWARD

#### Class Fifteen

For Best Foreign Correspondent In Any Medium Showing  
A Concern For The Human Condition

#### *"Women Of The Veil"*

Traveling through Afghanistan, Pakistan, Kuwait and Turkey, Scroggins and Shifrin captured, in a twelve-page special report, the way women are often isolated by custom and religion from the mainstream of Muslim society.

Honorarium Of \$1,000

#### CITATIONS FOR EXCELLENCE

Edward Barnes, Derek Hudson  
LIFE

*"Lost Boys Of The Sudan"*

Michael Dorris  
Mother Jones  
*"House Of Stone"*



SHIFRIN

**KAREN LEE ZINER**  
The Providence Journal-Bulletin

### THE ERIC AND AMY BURGER AWARD

#### Class Sixteen

For Best Reporting In Any Medium Dealing With Human Rights

#### *"What Now, Cambodia?"*

Traveling deep into Cambodia, at great personal risk, Ziner spotlighted the suffering of Cambodians attempting to return to their shattered country and reestablish normal lives following a supposed peace settlement.

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From The Eric And Amy Burger Foundation



ZINER

#### CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

Alan Tomlinson  
National Public Radio  
*"Uprooting Democracy:  
Human Rights After The  
Coups In Haiti"*

**EMILY T. SMITH**  
Business Week

### THE WHITMAN BASSOW AWARD

#### Class Seventeen

For Best Reporting In Any Medium On Environmental Issues

#### *"Growth Versus The Environment"*

Clearly and comprehensively, this story explains the macroeconomic background of the emerging concept of sustainable development, examining how government and corporations can realistically promote economic development while pushing for environmental security

Honorarium Of \$1,000 From AT&T



SMITH

#### CITATION FOR EXCELLENCE

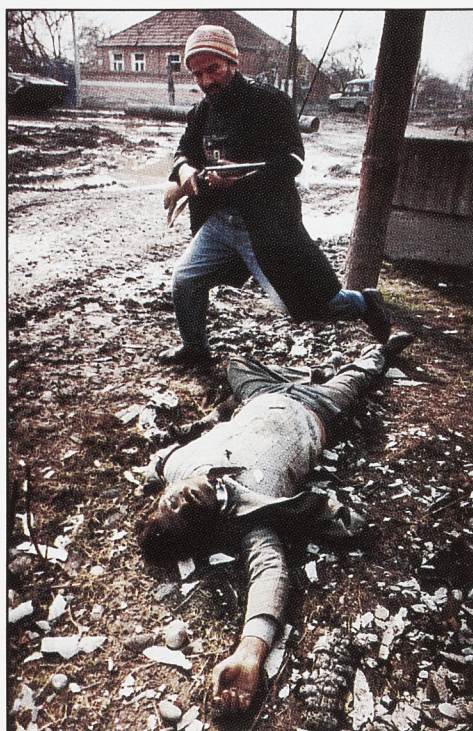
Worldwide Television,  
*"Earthfile: Looking  
To The 21st  
Century"*



## AWARDS



## AWARDS '92



### Anatoly Morkovkin Class Four B

Ossetian gunmen take shelter after a fellow guardsman was shot dead in the village of Vladikavkaz during a raging ethnic war between Ossetians and Ingush villagers (above).

An Ossetian gunman dashes past an Ingush villager who was killed by crossfire when Ossetian gunmen stormed the Ingush village of Vladikavkaz (left).

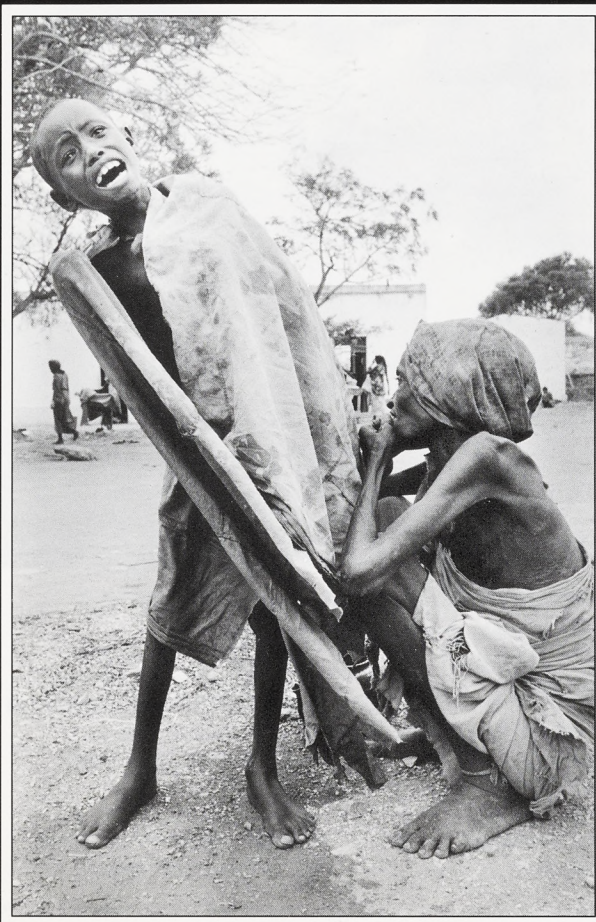




With water from an old kettle, a body is washed for burial.



# AWARDS



## James Nachtwey

### Class Four A

As many as 2 million of the nomadic nation's population of 4.5 million to 6 million are at risk of starvation. Somalis wash the dead and wrap them in shrouds before burial (top photograph). A woman is transported in a wheelbarrow (above) from a hospital to a CONCERN feeding center. Though weak from starvation, she still holds out her hand for help. The wheelbarrow was donated by UNICEF. A boy in rags screams in pain as his mother squats by his side (left).



## AWARDS

### Luc Delahaye Class Three

The children play at war, which surrounds them always and affects every aspect of their daily lives.



# AWARDS '92

A Bosnian sniper takes aim in Sarajevo, shooting at his targets from behind a desk in a shelled and vacant office building in the once-populated city. Where routine, daily paperwork once filled the day, gunshots now ring out through the city's corridors.



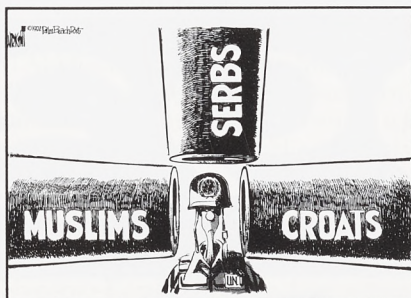
# AWARDS

The 1980s



WRIGHT  
Palm Beach Post  
©1992

The 1990s



## Don Wright Class Ten

Political cartoonist for The Palm Beach Post and The (Chicago) Tribune Media Services, Inc. Syndicate, Don Wright "inspires others to think in fresh ways, to pursue new directions. Don Wright is a leader without imitators, a voice that will have no successors." - *Target Magazine*

## 1992 Judges For The Overseas Press Club

Awards Chairman  
**ALLAN DODDS FRANK**

Class One, Two  
**MICHAEL SERRILL, CHAIR**  
**MARGARET NOVICKI**  
**ANNE NELSON**  
**STANLEY REED**

Class Three, Four A & B  
**VIN ALABISO, CHAIR**  
**BOBBIE BAKER BURROWS**  
**JIM DOOLEY**  
**MAGGIE STEBER**

Class Five, Six  
**RAY HOFFMAN, CHAIR**  
**KEN PREWITT**

Class Seven, Eight  
**CHARLES NOVITZ, CHAIR**  
**RICHARD FISHER**  
**SYLVIA WESTERMAN**  
**JACK DIERDORFF**  
**JOSH FRIEDMAN**

Class Nine  
**ANDREW NIBLEY, CHAIR**  
**DWIGHT SARGENT**  
**ED JACKSON**

Class Ten  
**JAMES DONNA**  
**ELLIS COSE**  
**ERNEST TOLLERSON**  
**WILLIAM MCBRIDE**

Class Eleven, Twelve  
**EDWIN FINN, CHAIR**  
**BARRY KRAMER**  
**DAVID HENRY**  
**GRETCHEN MORGENSEN**  
**JANICE CASTRO**

Class Thirteen  
**JERRY FLINT, CHAIR**  
**DAN CORDTZ**  
**LESLIE WAYNE**

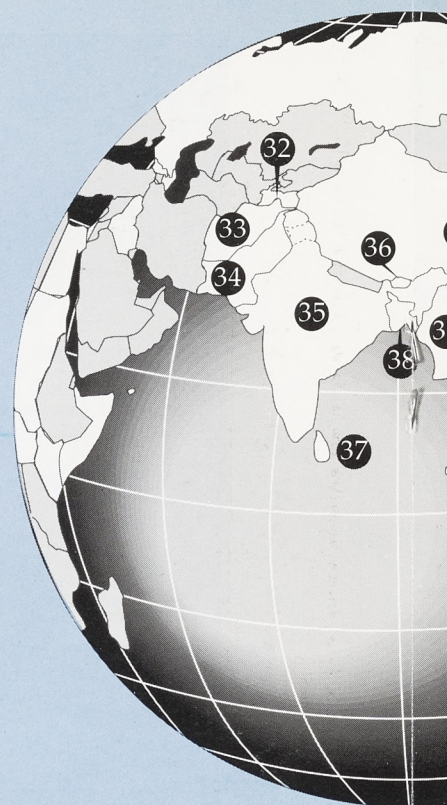
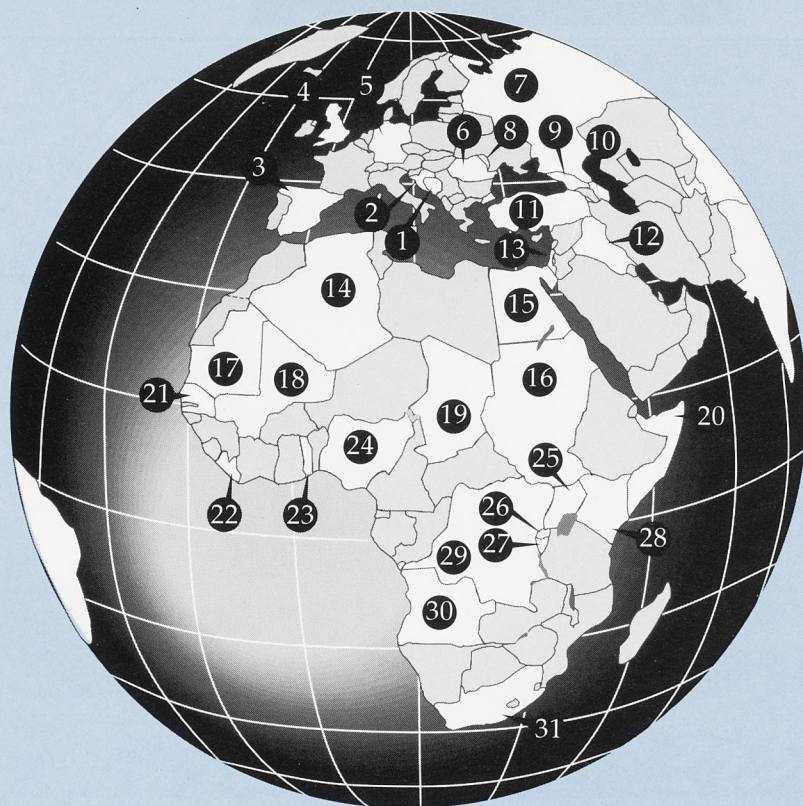
Class Fourteen  
**ROBERT TEITELMAN, CHAIR**  
**CHRISTOPHER POWER**  
**DAVID WRAY**

Class Fifteen  
**HENRIETTA BRACKMAN, CHAIR**  
**BETTY FRANK**  
**CATHERINE MANEGOLD**

Class Sixteen  
**WILLIAM HOLSTEIN, CHAIR**  
**JACQUELINE ALBERT-SIMON**  
**RICHARD PYLE**

Class Seventeen  
**PRANAY GUPTA, CHAIR**  
**JOY SILVERMAN**  
**STEVE ROSS**





# The World in 1993 TURMOIL

*Here, from a New York Times' February 7, 1993 article on the world's conflicts, is a look at a troubled world:*

## EUROPE

1. **BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA:** Serbian forces have captured about 70 percent of the country and carried out an "ethnic cleansing" campaign that has expelled Muslims and Croats.

2. **CROATIA:** Serbian separatists control about a third of Croatia's territory.

3. **SPAIN:** Nationalists saying they represent three million Basques seek an independent state on the Spain-France border.

4. **BRITAIN:** The Protestant majority in Northern Ireland favors continued union with Britain while Catholic minority wants to join with the rest of Ireland. Britain has also seen a surge in attacks by whites on

black and Asian immigrants.

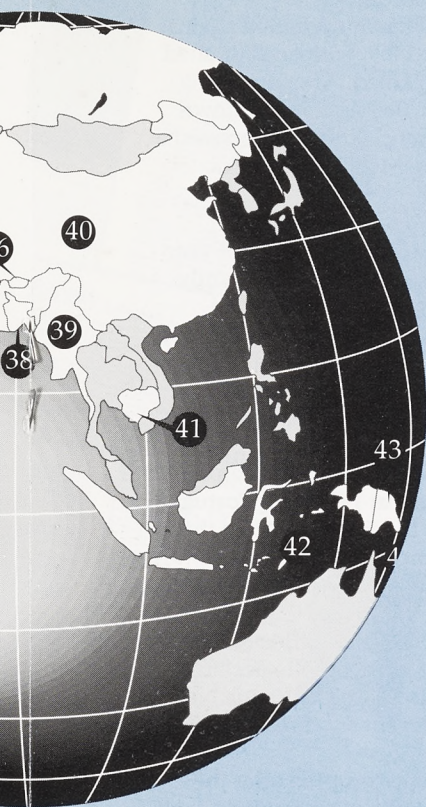
5. **GERMANY:** An influx of 650,000 foreigners seeking asylum from Bulgaria, Romania, the Balkans and other areas has stirred anger in the last two years among right-wing groups.

6. **ROMANIA:** Romania's ethnic Hungarians, mostly in Transylvania, want greater autonomy and the right to educate children in their language. There have been sporadic attacks on Gypsies.

7. **RUSSIA:** Chechenya and Ingushetia have broken and seek greater autonomy with Russia. Ingushetia and Northern Ossetia are fighting over territory.

8. **MOLDOVA:** Moldova's mainly Romanian population seeks economic, political and cultural ties with Romania. The Dniester region in eastern Moldova, where most of the population is of Russian and Ukrainian origin, declared independence in 1990, fear-





© GRAPHIC BY THE NEW YORK TIMES

ing that Moldova will unite with Romania.

9. **GEORGIA:** Abkhazia, dominated by Muslims, seeks independence or union with Russia. Southern Ossetia, also dominated by Muslims, seeks union with Northern Ossetia, an autonomous republic in Russia.

#### MIDDLE EAST AND NORTH AFRICA

10. **AZERBAIJAN:** Troops from Muslim-dominated Azerbaijan, aided by Russian forces, are fighting to end a rebellion by Nagorno-Karabakh, an enclave within Azerbaijan populated largely by Christian Armenians, who favor independence or affiliation with Armenia. In addition, Kurds in western Azerbaijan are demanding autonomy and have fought Azerbaijani forces.

11. **TURKEY:** Kurdish separatists represented by the Marxist Kurdish Workers Party have sought a separate Kurdish state.

12. **IRAQ:** In the north, two major Kurdish parties rule in an enclave protected militarily by the United States and its allies. In the south, leaders of a rebellion by Shiite Muslims say that tens of thousands of Shiites have been killed by forces of the Sunni-dominated Baghdad Government.

13. **ISRAEL:** The intifada, a popular uprising of Palestinians against Israeli occupation of the West Bank of the Jordan River and the Gaza Strip, erupted in 1987. About 1,000 Palestinians have been killed by Israeli soldiers, 500 have been killed by fellow Palestinians, and about 100 Israelis have been killed in Palestinian attacks.

14. **ALGERIA:** A revolt by Islamic militants has led to about 150 deaths in clashes with Government forces since the military canceled the second round of elections a year ago when Islamic parties were on the brink of winning a majority.

15. **EGYPT:** More than 70 people have been killed in

clashes between Islamic militants and Government security forces and in attacks by militants on foreigners and Coptic Christians.

16. **SUDAN:** The Government, dominated by Arab Muslims from the north, is fighting a longstanding insurgency by black Christians and animists in south.

#### AFRICA SOUTH OF THE SAHARA

17. **MAURITANIA:** Government security forces under the Arab-dominated regime of Col. Maawiya Ould Sid Ahmed Taya have clashed with opposition groups angry over expulsions and oppression of the black minority.

18. **MALI:** A demand for sovereignty by ethnic Tuaregs, a light-skinned nomadic people living in both Mali and neighboring Niger, has led to fighting in both Mali and Niger.

19. **CHAD:** President Idriss Deby, who ousted President Hissen Habre has faced rebellions in the west and south of Chad. Some have reportedly involved clashes between Mr. Deby's Zakawa tribe and Mr. Habre's Gourane tribe.

20. **SOMALIA:** Clan fighting escalated into full-scale civil war in which 300,000 died from war or starvation.

21. **SENEGAL:** In Casamance, mostly populated by the Diola tribe, there is opposition to Muslim domination in the government.

22. **LIBERIA:** Drawing support from the Gio and Mano ethnic groups, guerrilla leader Charles Taylor controls most of the country. President Samuel K. Doe, from the Krahn ethnic group, was killed in 1990, and Monrovia is held by an interim government installed by West African nations.

(continued on next page)



# The World's Trouble Spots

(continued from previous page)

23. **TOGO:** Government forces loyal to Togo's leader, Gen. Gnassingbe Eyadema, of the Kabiye tribe, are battling opposition forces, including those from the Ewe tribe.

24. **NIGERIA:** Nigeria, with about 200 ethnic groups, has many conflicts, but violence has been the sharpest in fighting between the Hausas, a predominantly Muslim group in the north, and the mostly Christian Yorubas in the south.

25. **UGANDA:** The army under President Yoweri K. Museveni, composed principally of members of the Baganda and Banyarwanda tribes, continues to wage warfare with northern rebels, mainly from the Acholi and Langi tribes.

26. **RWANDA:** Fighting is continuing between the Government, dominated by Hutu tribes, and an invading force led by the minority Tutsi tribe.

27. **BURUNDI:** Ethnic clashes between the majority ethnic group, the Hutus, and the minority Tutsis have led to thousands of deaths.

28. **KENYA:** Clashes among tribes in 1991 and 1992 have reportedly killed 1,000 people and led to charges that the Government of President Daniel Arap Moi was fomenting such conflict to discredit moves toward democracy.

29. **ZAIRE:** Thousands have died in the last year in a civil war between forces opposing and loyal to President Mobutu Sese Seko, and the fighting has ethnic overtones because various forces are from competing ethnic groups or tribes.

30. **ANGOLA:** Renewed fighting between the Government and guerrilla forces led by Jonas Savimbi of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola, or Unita, has left thousands dead. The struggle is ideological and political in nature, with ethnic overtones because Mr. Savimbi's strongest support comes from ethnic groups that feel disenfranchised by the leftist Luanda Government. There is also a violent secessionist movement in Cabinda, an oil-producing area geographically separated from the rest of Angola.

31. **SOUTH AFRICA:** Since 1984, about 15,000 have been killed in political violence related to a black insurrection against the white South African

Government. About 3,000 were killed in 1992, many in clashes between Zulus and rival black groups.

## ASIA

32. **TAJIKISTAN:** Tens of thousands of Tajik Muslims have been driven from their land by resurgent Communist armies seeking to suppress Islamic political power.

33. **AFGHANISTAN:** After the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the overthrow of the Soviet-installed leader, Najibullah, last year, the country has collapsed into civil war among competing ethnic factions. The Hazars control central and western areas near Iran, the Pathans are largely in control in the east and the Tajiks largely control the north.

34. **PAKISTAN:** Thousands have died in conflicts between government forces and groups of secessionists and dissidents in Sindh and the Northwest Frontier Province. There has also been rioting in Karachi involving descendants of Muslims who emigrated from India at the time of partition with in 1947.

35. **INDIA:** Tensions between Hindus and Muslims exploded in December when Hindu militants razed a mosque in the northern state of Uttar Pradesh. In Kashmir, 5,000 militants, civilians and Indian troops have been killed since a rebellion by the largely Muslim population began in 1990. In Punjab, about 20,000 Hindus and Sikhs are estimated to have been killed since a rebellion by Sikh militants erupted in 1982. In Assam, more than 200 have been reported killed as an insurgency by secessionists erupted in 1990. In Nagaland, insurgent Bodos have been fighting for a separate state.

36. **BHUTAN:** A revolt by ethnic Nepalese against the Government and reprisals by Government forces have led to thousands of Nepalese fleeing the country.

37. **SRI LANKA:** An insurgency by mostly Hindu Tamils in the north and east has been carried out against the Government, which is dominated by the mostly Buddhist Sinhalese.

38. **BANGLADESH:** A migration by members of the country's Muslim majority into the Chittagong Hill Tracts region in the south has led to an insurgency by the area's Chakmas, a mainly Buddhist people.

39. **MYANMAR:** In the last two years, more than 250,000 Muslims, charging harassment, have fled across the western border to Bangladesh. Hundreds are also believed to have died in clashes between Burmese soldiers and sepa-

ratist Karen and other rebels along the Thai-Burmese border.

40. **CHINA:** Tibetans rebelled against Chinese rule in 1959, with an estimated 87,000 Tibetans killed. After an easing of Chinese rule, Beijing cracked down in 1987. In Xinjiang, China suppressed a rebellion among Muslims of Turkic descent in 1990.

41. **CAMBODIA:** Rebel factions signed a peace accord ending a 13-year civil war. Various sides are constantly threatening to walk away from the agreement. Khmer Rouge soldiers, who blame Vietnam for many of Cambodia's problems, have been carrying out attacks on 100,000 Vietnamese living in Cambodia.

42. **INDONESIA:** A civil war broke out in East Timor in 1975 after Portugal withdrew, and Indonesia crushed the pro-independence rebellion. A separatist movement also exists in northern Sumatra.

43. **PAPUA NEW GUINEA:** Rebels on the island of Bougainville declared independence in 1990. The Papua New Guinea Government subdued the rebellion in 1991.

44. **FIJI:** Violence erupted after the Indian-dominated Government was elected in 1987. The Government was overthrown and the current Government consolidates ethnic Fijian dominance.

## LATIN AMERICA:

45. **GUATEMALA:** An essentially political conflict between the Guatemalan Government and leftist guerrillas has had ethnic overtones because of the long history of repression of Indians in Guatemala.

46. **COLOMBIA:** A group representing rights of Indians, Quintin Lamee, suspended an armed rebellion in 1991, but other Marxist groups claiming to represent peasants are continuing guerrilla attacks.

47. **PERU:** Since 1980, a Maoist guerrilla group known as Shining Path has waged war and won control of about a third of Peruvian territory, drawing support from largely Indian or mixed-race populations resisting the control of the mostly Hispanic elite in Lima.

48. **BRAZIL:** Indian tribes in the Amazon region are pressing the Government in Brasilia to recognize their traditional homelands. In the northern Amazon state of Roraima, the federal Government is campaigning to expel gold miners from the lands of the Yanomami tribes.



the right thing?

[illegible]

**Zuckerman and the 'Bleeding Dinosaur'**  
Judge clears obstacle to his takeover of the New York Daily News; but two of the paper's 10 unions continue to battle with him

The typographical union is now divided with the *Atlanta-Fulton County* and the *San Francisco Chronicle* among the few unions, which have struck against the Telexes in the past two years and are now negotiating their contracts with the newspaper industry.

The New York Times Newspaper Guild Local 6 representing over 500 staff, advertising and clerical workers, has refused to come to terms with the publisher. The reason was to cut newsroom staff, while retaining the trendsetting New York Journal in the trendsetting New York market.

Personally, he has named the trendsetting New York Journal as the trendsetting New Yorker in the New York City of Job City New York.

As for other, Zukerberg has reported looking for a new trendsetting newspaper.

Editor & Publisher/ **CONTENTS**

...news sources found that more survey respondents had been misled by the press and the

**2 Candidates' Media Ties**  
Federal law on inside money and gifts by Barry Goldwater, William F. Buckley Jr. and John F. Kennedy was passed by the Bush-Quayle

**Using as News**  
The Bush-Quayle campaign is running "Asa Carter and Bush" ads by the Bush-Quayle

**Top Five**  
The Bush-Quayle campaign is running "Asa Carter and Bush" ads by the Bush-Quayle

**Page 9 Photos: Presidential picks**

**and Tribune Sold**  
The Tribune sold its assets to the Tribune Co. for \$1.5 billion. The Tribune Co. is now the largest newspaper in the U.S.

**Page 15 How to**

**DEPARTMENTS**

**2 The Fourth Estate**

**3 Calendar**

**6 Editorial**  
The Tribune Co. is now the largest newspaper in the U.S.

**Circulation**  
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
All this was the red marketing strategy conceived by all department involved in a pre-emptive move to suggest that an individual named an "insider" who can cross borders and is like a "ghost" throughout the company.

The publisher should be aware that there is a notion of separate budget cannot be the reason

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## Advertising/Promotion

### The retail ad revolution and newspapers

**WAKE UP  
TO THE TIMES**  
  
**AND SPEND  
THE REST OF  
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SPENDING LESS.**

# Here We Go Again!

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**Campus Journalism**  
**Campus politics**  
**and student**  
**newspapers**

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Editor & Publisher

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## Newspeople in the News

- **Family feud**
- **Reporting on**
- **Journalists**

## E&amp;P

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L. Stein

THE San Jose Mercury News  
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## Shop Talk at Thirty

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# Access Problem

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At the media center at George Wash.

**3 Publisher/**

# Syndicates/News Services

## E.W. Scripps parts with part of United

# Blame Game Be

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# Protecting the Client

...the New York media  
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...duties of the Riner case, the  
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## Associated Press Enriches Improvements

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## WRITER'S WORKSHOP

## Cutting Fine Figures

ping with  
tough times  
Strong performance

improves News Corp.'s overall results  
by Robert O'Connor

Weekly Editor

Doug Lyke

**E&P**

- *Family feud leads to newspaper's sale* page 9
- *Reporting on death in South America* page 11
- *Journalists surveyed about themselves* page 14

# Editor & Publisher

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# "Maybe" history is coming to an end - what are we going to do about it ?

# CBS

By Dan Rather  
CBS News

A couple of years ago, a State Department wizard named Francis Fukuyama was telling us all that history might be coming to an end. He said this in a Hegelian sense, which means he did not mean for it to be widely understood. Hegel defined history as the conflict of ideas. Early in the nineteenth century, Hegel believed Napoleon would finish off history by conquering everybody in the entire world. Neither the history nor the post-history of Hegel's conjecturing ever came to pass.

Several conflicts of ideas later, Francis Fukuyama developed his thesis, predicated on the fall of communism in Eastern Europe and the triumph of Western Capitalist Democracy. With the great conflict resolved, we could be entering a period of "post-history," first passing through a phase of "sadness" or post-historic depression because there would be nothing left to fight about.

Now, I expect I wouldn't know the end of history if it sat down and bought me a drink. I don't doubt for a Manhattan minute that Francis Fukuyama is smarter than I am, is better read, is a better philosopher and historian, and has a better understanding of Hegel - and a better understanding of Marx and Napoleon, too. I also don't doubt that (in this one case) he's been proven wrong.

Mind you, he only said "maybe." "Maybe" history is coming to an end - what are we going to do about it?

Remember, too, that I have the advantage of a couple of years observation since Mr. Fukuyama published his theory. Those years have embraced

many conflicting ideas - enough to persuade me that this is no period of "sadness" but the continuation of history. There's plenty to choose from.

If you're looking for a conflict of ideas, try the conflict in religion between fundamentalism and secularism. And it doesn't matter whether you start with Islam or Judaism, with Hinduism or Christianity. History is being made in every faith right now. People are dying in the conflicts. And journalists are reporting those conflicts.

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*"The world has been in  
turmoil so often .. that  
'world' and 'turmoil'  
might well  
be synonymous."*

---

All of this comes to mind because I'm told that the theme chosen for this magazine is "The World in Turmoil." The world has been in turmoil so often (I'm hard pressed to think of a time when it wasn't) that "world" and "turmoil" might well be synonymous. In that respect, nothing has changed, this year or any other, not even the date-lines: Sarajevo, New Delhi, Moscow, Paris, Rome, Beijing.

What has changed is this: a sense that we can master the turmoil. Part of that sense comes, I believe, from a date-line called Somalia, and the good intentions that brought so many helping hands to that troubled country. Since the Marines landed in Mogadishu, we've been reminded that good inten-

tions are not enough - that intervention isn't easy, that attention must be paid not once but continually. If anybody following the events in Somalia is reminded of Professor Paul Kennedy's description of the troops of the Roman Empire, "far-flung and forgotten," I'm not entirely blaming them: American policy toward our own troops has been perilously close to that model. (The question is raised whether a greater focus by journalists - especially broadcast journalists - might have made that policy more difficult to pursue. I'm hardly objective, but I hope not.)

But even so, the spirit endures that a difference can be made in world affairs, not on the basis of political ideology but on a basis of compassion, fairness, humanity. Can that spirit be encouraged and maintained over any substantial period of time? It remains to be seen.

Our sense of potential mastery also comes from the recognition of a few opportunities. For example, a lot of people feel great urgency - we must save Yeltsin now - to thwart the revival of the Soviet Union. Although there are plenty of experts who argue that the patient is too far gone, the world is much more likely to be a happy place without the recovery of the Soviet Union, the threat of the Soviet military, and the resumption of the Cold War. Opportunities are probably worth seizing if they keep the Soviet Union in the history books and out of the front pages.

It's true we always feel we're a step or two away from making everything turn out for the best, that the right opportunities will permit us to settle back and relax. There's little cause for (continued on page 55)



# NBC

What ever  
happened to  
that "peace"  
dividend?

"Over there" is  
now over here

By Jim Maceda  
NBC News

MOSCOW - What ever happened to that peace dividend? We journalists know the answer to that one: every penny of it was given to people of nationalities most average Western souls never heard of, so they could each buy an AK-47 and RPG launcher to kill their neighbors . . . and themselves in the process. Faulty black market throwaways. Some peace.

What stories have you been covering since the fall of the Berlin Wall? Let's see - the break-up of the Soviet Union? Will bullets...or nukes...fly over the Russian-Ukrainian border? The siege of Sarajevo? Neo-nazi hooliganism in former East Germany? Sub-clan fratri-

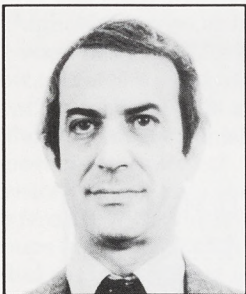
cide in Somalia? Our agendas tell the story. . . look at these datelines: Nagorno-Karabakh; Sukhumi; Abkhazia; Sevastopol; Crimea; Belgrade; Serbia . . . those are pre-World War One datelines!

The New World Order is just the Old World Disorder. . . with BIGGER guns. And to think that some war correspondents among us feared those Summit handshakes might mean peace . . . and professional extinction . . . Not! There's plenty of turmoil to keep us busy: just in my neck of the woods, Romanian-speaking Moldovans and Russian-speaking Moldovans are killing each other on a daily basis. Since Stalin, they had lived together, oppressed, but peaceful. Though the Russian-speakers got all the good jobs and perks, the

Romanian-speakers kept quiet. They had to: too many informers, and the KGB. Once the Communist shackles lifted, did the two peoples embrace? Of course not. The Romanian-speakers - a majority - claimed Moldova for themselves. They ridiculed, spat at and generally threatened the Russian-speakers - their former bosses - who now feared becoming as second-class in the new Moldova as the Romanian-speakers had been in the old.

So they bought - and stole - a few cases of weapons from a local unit of the Red Army, and, tractors-in-hand, sliced a rich strip of farmland off the back of the Dniester riverbank . . . and called it the Free Trans-Dniester Republic. Enter the Turkish-speaking (continued on page 54)

## David Kaplan



KAPLAN

A tribute  
to a consummate  
professional who  
believed in  
helping others

The award being dedicated tonight to David Kaplan honors him as a stalwart representative of the dedicated people in the news business, who fear no boundaries in the pursuit of the truth.

To those who knew him, David Kaplan, a 20-year veteran at ABC News and longtime producer for Sam Donaldson, was the consummate professional. On deadline, he was cool, thoughtful and somehow always able to maintain his considerable sense of humor. Helping others, no matter how junior they were, was also part of his credo. And, as Sam Donaldson has often said, David Kaplan never sought the spotlight, only the satisfaction of a job well done.

After graduating from 1968 from the University of Denver with a B.A. in political



science, Kaplan worked as a radio reporter and news director at WEEF Radio in Highland Park, Il. and later served as assistant press secretary for Sen. George McGovern. Kaplan started at ABC News in 1972 as a field producer for special events covering political events, then moved to "World News Tonight," where he teamed with Donaldson at the White House. When ABC began "PrimeTime Live," Kaplan joined as the show's Senior Producer in Washington. He was on assignment with

Donaldson in Sarajevo when he was killed by a sniper's bullet on August 13, 1992.

ABC News President Rooney Arledge, after praising Kaplan's exceptional capability, dedication and courage, said on the day Kaplan was shot that "the tragic events in Sarajevo have robbed us all of a wonderful friend and colleague."

The Overseas Press Club is proud to join others who have honored our fallen colleague. A scholarship in his name, the first of its kind, expressly for future television news producers, has also been established at the University of Missouri.

We grieve for David Kaplan, and for all of our compatriots who have died or have been wounded in the ongoing battle to keep us all informed.



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# Afghanistan:

## Of missiles and the Mujahideen

By Robert Templer  
Agence France-Presse

KABUL - It was never hard to explain why Afghans hated the Soviets but in 1992 it became necessary to try and explain why Afghans hate each other so much. Most journalists had glossed over the differences within the mujahideen, preferring to portray them as the noble heroes of a Cold War sideshow, even though Hezb-i-Islami leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar probably spent as much time during 14 years of war fighting his more moderate Tajik rival Ahmed Shah Masood as he did the Red Army.

But once the Soviets left and President Najbullah could cling on no longer, journalists were left to map a path through the shifting sands of Afghan alliances and battles without a clearcut enemy. Suddenly Kabul was a brittle mosaic of ethnic and religious rivalries but the picture changed constantly, billiard balls in brownian motion as one group would ally with another only to turn against them the next day. The game had only a handful of rules - Pashtuns like Hekmatyar had been in power for hundreds of years and felt they should remain there. Northerner including Tajiks such as Masood and President Burhanuddin Rabbani and Uzbek warlord General Abdul Rashid Dostam had not been in power and felt it was now their turn.

Afghanistan tries its best to defeat the vocabulary used by journalists. How useful is a word like "government" in a capital with a different authority in every ministry, indeed almost on every street? "Deep ethnic divisions" was a pale way of explaining the ferocity with which mujahideen groups bombarded each other across Kabul as if determined to destroy what they fought so hard to win.

Even what would seem like a straightforward word like "official" presented problems when a young man who looked no older than sixteen introduced himself as the new director of the foreign ministry press office. Just arrived from Peshawar, he had taken over the desk and the title but required constant prompting from the former director, who forlornly lurked around serving tea and lighting cigarettes.

The fighting that has killed thou-

sands in Kabul while barely flickering onto the world's radar screen was not simply between Hekmatyar and Masood, who ousted Najbullah in April after a rebellion by Dostams' fear-some troops, known as "the carpet rollers" because everything in their path disappeared. The Uzbeks, one of Hekmatyar's main obstacles to power, were presenting themselves as a moderating force and also quickly brushing up their Islamic and international credentials by sending their top people off to the Hajj and neighboring capitals.

Early on August 10, Hekmatyar's forces began a push on the city. A persistent crumping noise began around five in the morning and seemed to drift across the city punctuated by the dentist drill shriek of rockets going overhead. Everyone had said AFP's house was safe. It was just across the street from Masood's official residence and his guards would protect the whole street from looters. But with the radio center on one side and Masood's house on the other, the bureau was right in the middle of a prime targeting area. Throughout the morning, rockets screeched overhead on their way to the airport, while Uzbek gun emplacements on a nearby hill boomed back their replies. Around one in the afternoon it quieted down, and the housekeeper and I emerged from the cellar to eat. Suddenly and to me silently the air turned opaque with yellow dust and a force ballooned around me and threw me against a wall while furniture, doors and glass hurtled around.

I scrambled to the top of the cellar stairs followed by Yaar Mohammed and another violent thump propelled us down. About half an hour later we emerged to survey the damage. A 120 millimeter Sakkar rocket, an Egyptian missile more than a meter in length, had hit the balcony at the front of the house, exploding and spraying shrapnel throughout the top floor. About 12 hours after the first artillery rounds

had smashed the city, it fell quiet and slowly neighbors emerged to gawk at our house. Grinning with what at first I irritably thought was schadenfreude, they hugged Yaar and I and began clearing up the glass and extinguishing the smoldering sofas.

In the next two weeks thousands of rockets fell on the city, some killing entire families and obliterating the mud, brick and concrete compounds that sprawl down the valley. Others just embedded themselves harmlessly in flowerbeds or buried themselves in the streets, unexploded traffic obstacles rising from the puckered tarmac. The Hezb soon realized that around one rocket an hour would keep everyone indoors and paralyze the city. But there were occasional periods of calm and then a sudden flurry of shells as if some Mujahideen had simply become bored and loosed off a few rounds for fun. During the lulls people ventured out to flee with pitiful carloads of belongings or to gather the basic provisions of life but to emerge from any shelter was to have your synapses crackle or clog with the overwhelming fear generated by the random attacks.

The Red Cross estimate from the numbers admitted to their hospital that more than 2,000 people were killed in nearly three weeks of attacks that ended temporarily on August 29. The number is certainly higher as dead people don't get taken to the hospital.

Hundreds of thousands fled the city, including Yaar Mohammed who took his family back to their village in the peaceful Panjshir Valley, which he had not visited since before the war began in 1979. Like many others he returned to look after his house and keep his job, the hope of living in peace diminishing with every battle, every rocket attack, every new power struggle. Nearly a year after the mujahideen took over Kabul, they control not the capital of a new peaceful rebuilding Afghanistan but a grim wasteland.

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*"In the confusion, a sixteen-year-old briefly became the director of the foreign ministry press office."*

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# Anti-Western feelings are rising in Middle East

(continued from page 13)

new order of democracy and freedom. But to most Middle Easterners, those are slippery words that really mean American and Zionist hegemony.

The anger, directed at their own governments, is taking on a more stridently anti-Western and anti-American tone. The bombing of the World Trade Center apparently by a group of alienated Muslims is a small but dramatic example.

All over Egypt today, young bearded men are gathering in tiny private mosques to hear anti-Western sermons. Their conversations, like much of the press throughout the Arab world, reveal dark, unimaginably complicated schemes by which the West and Israel are said to keep the Arab and Muslim worlds at bay.

It is asserted that Mikhail Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin are CIA agents, that Saddam Hussein works for the Israeli Mossad, that Israel blew up the World

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*"Not even peace  
would immediately  
revive stagnant  
economies."*

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Trade Center and is pinning the blame on Muslim radicals to improve its standing in Washington, that the West is indifferent to the rape and destruction of Bosnian Muslim communities.

The overwhelming sentiments expressed throughout the region are weakness and frustration. For most Arabs, the peace negotiations with Israel are an obligatory surrender, not yet a genuine acceptance of change.

The Clinton administration speaks of the Middle East as one of the areas of international conflict most prone to solution in the coming few years. Perhaps. But one is tempted to inject a note of acute caution.

One wonders what will happen inside countries such as Syria, Jordan and Lebanon, and among the Palestinians - and Jewish settlers - in the West Bank and Gaza Strip if peace deals are eventually struck with Israel. The arrangements will certainly be only partially satisfactory to all, the stagnant economies will not pick up right away. The people have not been prepared for co-existence.

Where will they direct their frustration then? Internally, one would imagine. Then, radical Islam may have its day.

In Algeria last year, the middle class and the military knew the Islamists would win the election. Fearing their own loss of power and privilege and the prospect of one-person, one-vote, one-time, they put their firepower and bayonets to use. With the use of martial law, they have been trying vainly to keep the lid on Algerian Islamist rage ever since.

That is a pattern other countries in the region may soon follow.



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Pfizer Inc is a research-based, diversified health care company with global operations. The company reported sales of approximately \$7.23 billion for 1992.



# Hong Kong

## Playing diplomatic poker for the future

By Barbara Basler

In Hong Kong there are never two sides to any story. There are always three.

This rich, lively British colony will revert to Chinese control in 1997, and virtually every important issue here has a British, a Chinese and a Hong Kong angle.

Hong Kong has become a compelling, dramatic story because its historical situation is unprecedented - a relatively free territory must try to plan for a future under one of the most repressive regimes in the world. The fact of the Chinese takeover colors every opinion, every issue, every decision here, and stories must reflect that complexity and anxiety.

Last October, Christopher Patten, Hong Kong's governor, proposed some real but rather modest democratic reforms here for the last election under British rule, which of course would be in place for the first election under Chinese rule.

Since that time, these proposals have been debated not only in Hong Kong's Legislative Council, but in Beijing and in London — by the National People's Congress and the British Parliament.

From the beginning, this story on local political reform was an international story of high stakes diplomacy. How far will Britain go in pushing these reforms in the face of fierce Chinese opposition? Does Hong Kong want democracy extended even at the risk of Chinese anger? Will Britain and China make a secret deal and water down Patten's proposals? Will China punish Hong Kong and Britain economically if these reforms proceed?

The Hong Kong budget, the new Hong Kong airport, even the colony's growing crime rate, all have a Sino-British political element.

For example, in what could almost be a Keystone Cops comedy, this island has a huge car theft problem. What do you do with a stolen car on a tiny island? You smuggle it by boat to China, where top Chinese cadres are often spotted driving Mercedes sedans with right-hand steering, the sort used in Hong Kong.

How far can Hong Kong push its future sovereign, China, to cooperate in the return of these cars? Will Chinese cooperation depend on the latest political row with Britain? The constant China angle in Hong Kong stories

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*"Chinese officials are calling occasional news conferences as they learn more about the rough and tumble of Western journalism."*

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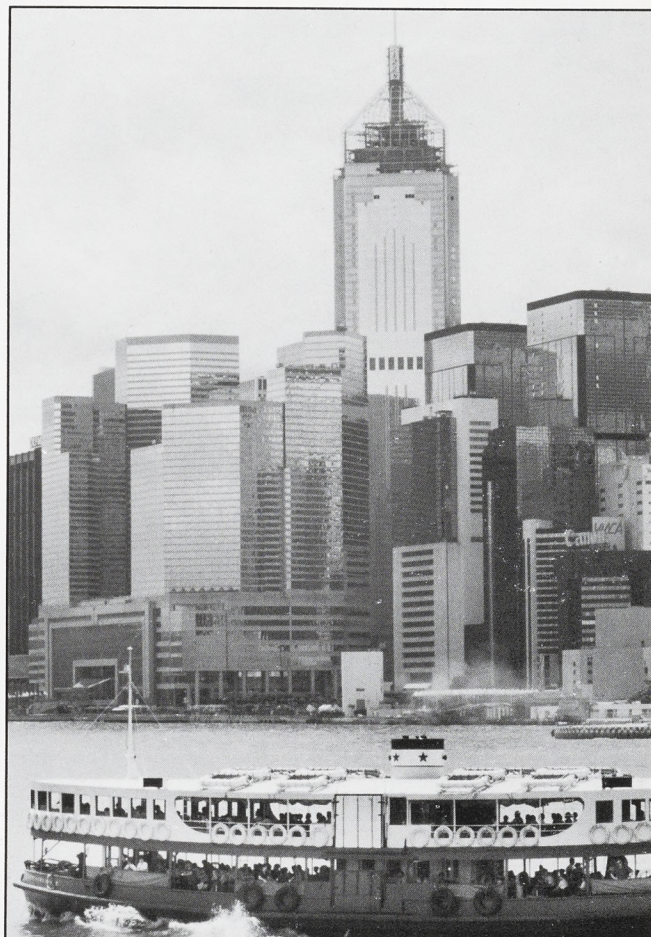


PHOTO BY CARL HO, REUTERS

The 78-story Central Plaza looms over Hong Kong's harbor. At 1,228 feet, it is the tallest building in Asia.

makes gathering facts more time-consuming, because the Chinese side is sensitive to the press it receives, and yet coy in dealing with reporters.

The Chinese, still smarting from the unequal treaties with Britain that created Hong Kong more than 150 years ago, have never officially recognized the colony, and have therefore never established an embassy or consulate here.

Xinhua — the official New China News Agency — which has a huge presence here, far beyond any valid reporting operation, is publicly acknowledged as the de facto Chinese consulate. But trying to contact an official there for a comment is nothing short of Kafkaesque.

What usually happens now is that rather than calling the Chinese, you simply wait for them to express their views through a Xinhua or China News Service (CNS) story: denouncing Mr. Patten, ridiculing the latest British proposals, or calling in calm and measured tones for more cooperation between China and Britain. The Chinese have actually become fairly adept at this and now get their reactions out within an hour or so of the latest British or Hong Kong announcement.

Moreover, Chinese officials here have even taken to calling an occasional news conference, as they learn more (continued on page 55)



# AFP Photos Tell the Story.



BEERSHEVA, Israel, Oct. 5, 92—Israeli girl, at her brother's funeral, looks out among his friends, fellow soldiers.

AFP - Sven Nackstrand



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# European union: new birthing pains

By Peter Mackler  
Agence France-Presse

BRUSSELS, March 31 - A senior Japanese diplomat leaned across a lunch table recently to buttonhole a European Community official on why the E.C. was trying to do so many things at the same time. The E.C. had barely launched its long-awaited single market this year when it was already negotiating admission of new members and pushing plans for a monetary and political union.

"In my country we have a saying," the Japanese said. "You can't inhale and exhale at the same time."

For the time being the community is doing neither. It's holding its breath and waiting — hoping, praying — for ratification of the Treaty on European Union hammered out in December 1991 in the Dutch city of Maastricht. Only Denmark and Britain have yet to ratify the pact, which needs the approval of all 12 members. But tough battles loom in both countries.

Given the wariness of the Danes, who already voted down the treaty once, and the vagaries of British parliamentary politics, no one is willing to predict the outcome. Add in some currency chaos, and a recession fueling economic nationalism, and you have the 36-year-old E.C. dangling precariously between its past and future.

Even ardent supporters of the ambitious plan to create a single currency by 1999 and boost political and defense cooperation are turning pessimistic on the treaty which was intended to take effect last January 1. The world no longer shudders at the possibility of a Fortress Europe or a political bloc of 340 million people throwing its weight on the international scene. Said Jacques Chirac, who heads the lead party in France's new center-right government: "Europe is in crisis and the future of the Maastricht treaty is uncertain."

This time last year, few Europeans foresaw such problems for the union process, which was seen as a logical extension of the E.C.'s founding 1957 Treaty of Rome and its new barrier-free market for goods and services. With a flourishing Franco-German axis at its core, the scheme seemed headed for smooth sailing.

But Danish voters fired the first shot,



PHOTO BY GARETH WATKINS, REUTERS

French farmers in Paris drive tractors through a barrage of tear-gas fired by riot police as they protest European Community farm reforms.

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*"In my country we have a saying - You can't inhale and exhale at the same time."*

*- A Japanese diplomat*

---

---

narrowly rejecting the pact in a June referendum and highlighting a general unease over the power of Brussels bureaucrats. The real shocker came when French voters gave only a grudging "oui" in September and came within a half a million votes of sinking the treaty altogether. Encouraged by the result across the Channel, parliamentary opposition grew in Britain.

The E.C. has paid a heavy price for such hesitation, which has undermined its European Monetary System of semi-fixed parities since September. The 14-year-old EMS was already bent out of shape by Germany's high interest rates and overpowering mark.

But despite the strains, the system was held together by confidence in prospects for a monetary union. When confidence ebbed, speculators almost blew the EMS apart. The British pound and Italian lire were ejected from the exchange-rate mechanism, three other

currencies were devalued.

The months of turbulence have alarmed E.C. chief executive Jacques Delors, the technocratic French Socialist who steered the community to its single market and plans for union. For Delors, the unravelling of the EMS is the "deadliest possible poison for European construction." But the markets remain nervous and a single E.C. currency is still a distant, fading dream.

Should the Maastricht treaty be finally ratified, the question remains what kind of offspring will emerge from the long and tortured birth process. Denmark negotiated exemptions from the single currency, defense and police cooperation and other clauses as the price for giving its voters a second go. Britain has won an opt out on working hours and conditions, the so-called social chapter. If France is committed to the full text, Chirac, never fully convinced, is now talking about certain features that are "debatable."

More problematic is how many E.C. states will be able to meet the criteria or economic "convergence" required to participate in a single currency. The treaty lays down some tough standards, including a budget deficit totaling less than three percent of gross domestic product and a public debt below 60% of

(continued on page 50)



# NYSE has unmatched market strength

(continued from page 9)

through a chain of costly intermediaries, without the price efficiency and protection afforded by the NYSE auction market.

There are many ways to remove impediments to listing foreign companies. Among them are broad acceptance of international accounting standards, development of common disclosure documents through harmonization of differing accounting standards, or creation of a separate category of world-class foreign issues with special disclosure requirements.

Whatever the choice, time is critical. U.S. markets must be given the opportunity to increase their global reach before other trading patterns are thoroughly established. In the broadest sense, proper attention to investor interests will ensure securities exchanges in the U.S. and world have an opportunity for significant growth in years ahead, supporting the all-important capital-raising process that drives business formation and expansion.

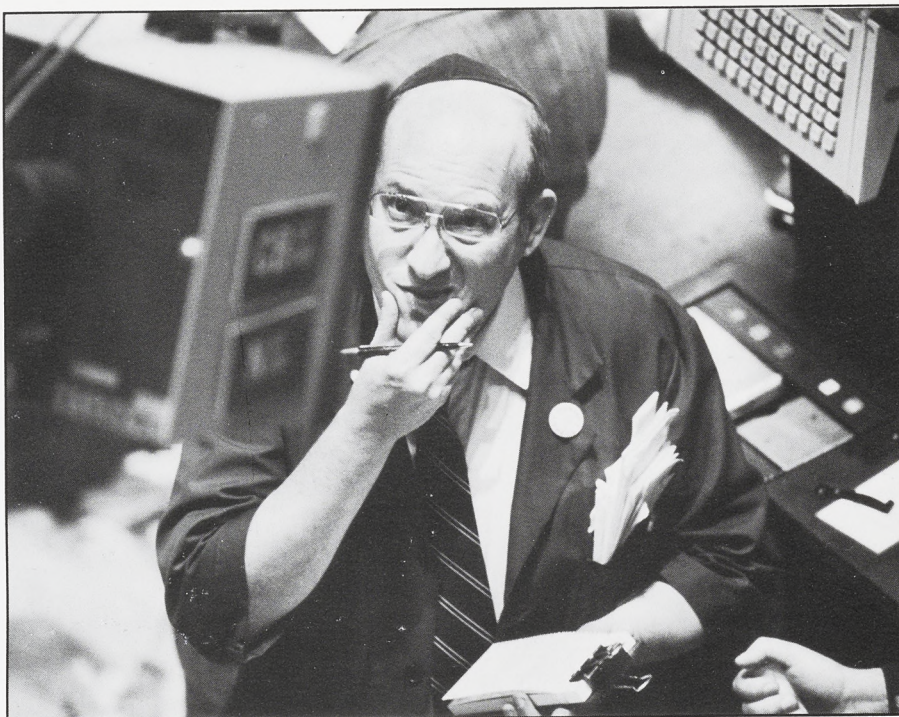


PHOTO BY MIKE SEGAR, REUTERS

A NYSE trader watches monitors October 2, 1992, as blue chip stocks drop.



*Paramount Communications Inc.*



# Cuba

## Not backing down from its "no-surrender" policy

by Pascal Fletcher  
REUTERS

HAVANA - If ideology and information are weapons, then Cuba is at war. And if, as a journalist, you're in the business of seeking out and providing information, that puts you right in the middle of that war.

Working as a foreign correspondent in Cuba is always challenging and stimulating but sometimes frustrating.

The collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union from 1989 onwards has made the Caribbean island one of the last bastions of orthodox one-party socialism in the world, along with China, Vietnam and North Korea.

That political identity, still jealously maintained by 66-year-old president Fidel Castro, is all the more highlighted by the island's close proximity to the United States, its main ideological enemy for more than 30 years.

It is as though all of the tensions and pressures of the old Cold War, now largely dissipated in Eastern Europe, had converged on this tropical island just 90 miles (145 km) from the U.S.

Cuba's "no surrender" politics, which includes the active suppression of internal political opposition, inflame passions and prejudices around the world, not least in south Florida where the biggest overseas community of Cuban exiles lives.

The loss of generous trade and massive subsidies from former communist allies in Eastern Europe knocked the foundations out from under the sugar-exporting, oil-importing Cuban economy. It was plunged into a chronic recession, euphemistically dubbed "the Special Period in Time of Peace" by the government.

Imports slumped. Cuba's existing rationing system, designed to guarantee a fair sharing out of essential food and goods to every citizen, was rapidly tightened to cover almost every consumer item, from beans to clothes and household utensils.

A sharp fall-off in imported oil supplies forced the government to replace tractors with oxen, cut back public transport and ration electricity, plunging parts of Havana and other cities into darkness every night.

The number of cars on Cuba's roads

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*"Paranoia and secrecy  
can cloak the simplest  
aspects of news-gathering  
in Cuba."*

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fell visibly. They were replaced by thousands of bicycles handed out by the authorities. All of this is fertile ground for hard news - if you can obtain it.

Cuba's tightly-controlled state media churn out a daily paean of praise for the merits of the island's socialism and how it is coping with the crisis. "Resist, resist, resist" and "Save the nation, the Revolution and Socialism" are the official rallying cries.

The government media has a clearly defined role - like the judiciary and other official state institutions - to defend "The Revolution", the one-party communist system installed by Castro after he toppled right-wing dictator Fulgencio Batista in 1959.

Although the gulf between official rhetoric and reality is often clearly visible, digging out new information, checking facts and confirming or denying rumors presents a challenge.

Not least because the authorities regard the foreign press with a wary if not openly mistrustful eye. They see Cuba as the target of an information war being waged by the country's ideological enemies. More so than ever since the break-up of the former Soviet Union.

Cuba accuses the U.S. government of directing a "campaign of disinformation" aimed at discrediting the island's one-party socialist system, which Washington says is undemocratic and should be changed.

According to the Cuban authorities, a major part in this campaign is played by a battery of U.S.-based radio stations, many of them run by Cuban exiles, which bombard the island daily with thousands of hours of anti-communist programming.

One of these stations, Radio Marti, is run and funded by the U.S. government through the U.S. Information Agency (USIA).

Foreign correspondents in Cuba whose brief is to be objective and

impartial have to tread a fine line between seeking to portray factual reality and consciously not taking sides in this information war, which often reaches fever pitch. Reports by correspondents in Cuba considered hostile or excessively negative by the Cuban authorities can lead to accusations that the author or authors have "joined the enemy".

This can result in a range of reactions, from a "friendly chat", delivered with recommendations to be "more balanced," to official warnings, and ultimately, the possibility of expulsion or having one's accreditation withdrawn.

Paranoia and secrecy often cloak even the simplest aspects of news-gathering.

One good example of this is the area of political dissidence, a murky world where the Cuban state security services, enforcing legislation which outlaws "enemy propaganda", "illicit association" and "clandestine printing", watch, control, and frequently detain known opponents of the communist government.

Correspondents receive numerous, unconfirmed reports of detentions, beatings and other incidents involving dissidents. The Cuban authorities rarely, if ever, confirm them.

This leaves the door wide open for disinformation and provocation.

In 1990, six members of one dissident group were jailed for "destabilizing activities". The main witness for the prosecution was the group's "vice-president", who turned out to be a state security agent code-named "David". "David" had even signed some statements distributed by the group to foreign correspondents.

Economic news, especially about strategic exports like sugar and nickel or foreign investment deals, is also shrouded in secrecy. Cuban officials say this is because any public information about the economy could be used by the United States to block business deals with Cuba as part of the long-standing U.S. economic embargo against the island.

The sensitivity is such that even obtaining approval to visit one of the many sugar mills which dot the island can take months if it is granted at all.



# Environment has a role in trade rules

*"Achieving a prompt agreement in the Uruguay Round remains a high U.S. priority."*

(continued from page 11)  
global levels to protect the environment. For example, under the Montreal Protocol, a large number of countries have agreed to curb the use of chemicals that have been destroying the ozone layer of the atmosphere, which protects all of us from harmful levels of ultra-violet radiation.

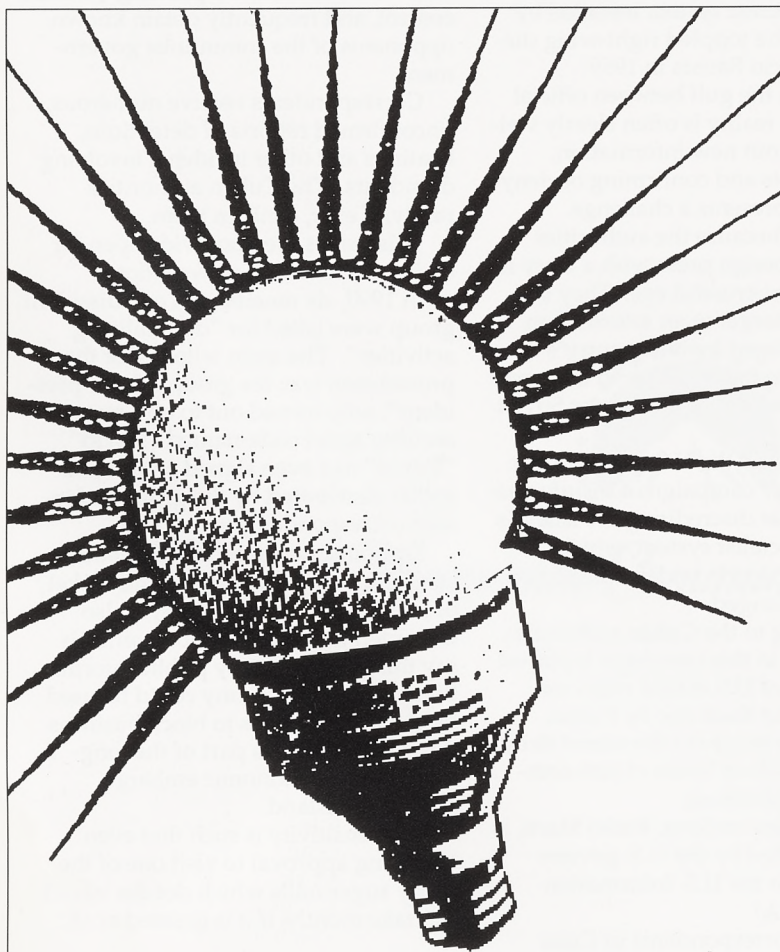
Trade measures have an important role to play in supporting national and international efforts to improve the environment, and this will require new rules and understandings. At the same time, new guidelines will need to be developed to sensitize trade officials to environmental issues and to increase

the awareness of environmental officials of the potential impact of environmental measures on trade. Other new issues concern the closer integration of competition, investment, and technology issues with trade policies.

Our bilateral trade relationships with some of our major trading partners will also call for special attention, as will regional developments in Europe, the Pacific, Latin America and within the territory of the former Soviet Union. The most important and most frustrating of the bilateral relationships is with Japan, whose trade surplus with the United States has once again been increasing after several years of decline. Overcoming the many hidden barriers to market access in that country ranks among our highest priorities. With respect to the bilateral relationship with the European Community, the use of government subsidies in both agriculture and industry remains a major source of trade conflict and will require continuing attention.

*"The administration will move forward promptly with the North American Free Trade Agreement."*

In the Pacific region, the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation organization (APEC), shows a lot of promise in facilitating and expanding trade and investment relationships among countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. This is one of the most dynamic regions in the world today, and we intend to make the most of the opportunities this creates. Another major challenge concerns Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union. The best way we can help them to make the difficult transition to a market economy, and in the process help ourselves, is to expand our trade and investment relationships with them, and we want to pursue that goal creatively.



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DON WRIGHT, THE PALM BEACH POST

# A Royal Mess

## Dirty linen in the House of Windsor

by Michael Fathers  
The Independent On Sunday

LONDON - The television image looked something like the Prince of Wales. It was a surprise when he spoke as if through a sieve and even more odd when he told his wife that rhubarb was a plant that needed a good talking to. Later when he told his father, the Duke of Edinburgh, it was difficult to find a Protestant virgin I felt like telling him he would have the same trouble nowadays finding a Catholic one. And when the woman who played Camilla Parker Bowles, informed the character who was Lady Di that it would be to her advantage to spend time getting used to a saddle because Charles liked "riding" a lot I decided to turn the TV off.

That today is the royal family on television. It could be comedy hour. It is certainly entertainment, but we are being asked to believe it is real life - give or take the dialogue. Unfortunately for the House of Windsor, the great British public thinks it might be true and nothing has come to light to say it is not.

You did not have to turn to a television "dramatization" of the Charles and Diana marriage to see the juicy stuff. That happened six months earlier through the telephoto lens of a photographer in France who took pictures of Queen Elizabeth's daughter-in-law, the

Duchess of York, topless, first having her toes sucked by her American financial adviser and then looking like a water bed as he lay on top of her.

And there were the tapes - Charles telling Mrs. Parker Bowles he would like to be reincarnated as a box of Tampax, a view of the afterlife that

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*"But it was those bloody colonies again. No sooner had the dust settled than Australia said it was going to vote on whether to rid itself of the Monarchy."*

---

instantly questioned his right to lead the Church of England as Defender of the Faith. The other tape: Squidgy, otherwise known as the Princess of Wales, swaps telephone kisses with her friend James Gilbey and is reassured by him that she won't become pregnant (not from kissing, we presume). The formal announcement followed: the prince and princess were to separate.

It didn't stop there. Anne, the Princess Royal, got her divorce and had a quickie wedding with a naval officer in Scotland. Windsor castle burns down, but judging by the Queen's reac-

tion it is not clear whether that or the decision of Britain's biggest selling newspaper, the Sun, to break the embargo on her Christmas day broadcast caused more upset. She sues the Sun and settles for 200,000 sterling which is handed over to two charities.

Against this background of her family's indiscretions, the British economy went into a tailspin and her subjects wondered whether perhaps she should make a contribution towards the recovery and rebuilding of her castle. The formal announcement followed: she was to pay income tax and the feather-bedding of the extended Windsor family would end.

Royalists cheered, the monarchy had adapted itself to the public mood, the Queen's annus horribilis had ended, they said. The rest of Britain blinked. After all, the exact amount of tax she would pay and the size of her private fortune were to stay secret. For a while it seemed the turmoil had ended.

But it was those bloody colonies again. No sooner had the dust settled than Australia said it was going to put her to the vote and those damned Aussie reporters found another bit of Squidgy tape. No light at the end of the tunnel on this one. Republicanism is bursting out all over. I see Annus Horribilis Mark Two, or will it be Mark Three, Four, Five and Six. Turmoil is no longer an optional extra for this family.



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# Newsroom comeback

## The U.N. beat is back in favor

By Michael Littlejohns  
The Financial Times

UNITED NATIONS - After languishing for years mostly as a downpage print story - worth less than a New York minute for TV and radio - the United Nations has made a comeback, claiming more space and air time even than in those heady, early days when the presence of its headquarters on U.S. soil was still a compelling novelty.

Thank Mikhail Gorbachev and Saddam Hussein for the surge in newsroom attention.

Tough measures approved by the Security Council and made possible only by the waning East-West cold war - which had largely paralyzed the world body - convinced formerly skeptical editors to take the U.N. seriously.

Now it's on a roll. Most days, TV mobile units line the divider outside the Manhattan headquarters. Noontime news briefings often are S.R.O.

The Balkans and Somalia conflicts and peacemaking efforts in Cambodia, as well as recurring Middle East crises, are the current preoccupations. It's estimated that about 40 conflicts rage in various parts of the globe at any given time. Most wind up on the U.N. agenda. As a result, the Security Council must stay in almost permanent session. Staffing a constant vigil severely strains editorial budgets and accounts for the heavy reliance on stringers.

According to Sonia Lecca, the accreditations officer, 2,111 journalists and supporting personnel (camera persons, sound crews and the like) currently cover the U.N. full-time or often. During the Gulf war, the total soared to 7,000. An all-time media record was set last year, but not in New York: No fewer than 9,000 reporters descended on Rio de Janeiro for the so-called Earth Summit called to coordinate environmental policies and attended by the largest assembly ever of heads of state and government, George Bush included.

Though the U.N. passed through a long fallow period when endless windy debates, repetitive resolutions and a perceived streak of anti-Semitism turned off editors and their public, the



ED GAMBLE, THE FLORIDA TIMES-UNION

organization produced good copy even before the resurgence.

U.N. resolutions legitimized the state of Israel, sent U.S. troops into Korea, halted three Middle East wars and ended the isolation of communist China. A riotous summit session of the U.N. General Assembly in 1960 is best remembered for Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev's shoe-banging shenanigans. With President Dwight D. Eisenhower and many other major leaders of that pre-CNN period on hand, the networks covered the session blow-by-blow and it was Page One for weeks.

Though today's U.N. press corps is more international than ever, economic hard times have trimmed U.S. media representation. (Even with the freebies, like complimentary desk space and telephones, it's estimated that a year round, one-person U.N. bureau may cost a minimum of \$100,000 annually.)

The Chicago Tribune, Los Angeles Times and St. Louis Post-Dispatch checked out years ago, as did the New York Daily News, which assigned four U.N. reporters in more prosperous times. (Its former spacious office is occupied by Beijing's official news agency.) The New York Times generally manages with a team of two, compared to a half-dozen or more when a youthful A.M. Rosenthal saw U.N. service. The Wall Street Journal, seldom

friendly to the U.N. editorially, never had a bureau.

The renewed interest notwithstanding, no permanent correspondents have replaced such greats as Pauline Frederick of NBC, CBS's Richard C. Hottelet and John MacVane, Lou Cioffi and Mal Goode (the first African-American network TV reporter) of ABC. BBC and NPR have always done a consistently solid job, even in lean times, as have global news services like The A.P., Reuters, A.F.P., U.P.I. and TASS.

Covering the U.N. is demanding, but having much of the action under one roof helps. So does a large P.R. staff (with a \$30 million annual budget for worldwide operations), including writers who competently summarize the more important proceedings and a hyper-efficient audio-visual division that services electronic media.

Still, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his key officers remain relatively inaccessible. In his first 15 months he held only three news conferences in New York, whereas Dag Hammarskjöld met the press at least once a month.

*Littlejohns has covered the United Nations since 1955*



# Prospects loom for "two-speed" Europe

(continued from page 43)

GDP. If seven states meet them by 1997, the monetary union will be born; if not, the scheme will go ahead in 1999 with whomever is ready. Currently only two E.C. states made the grade: Denmark, which wants nothing to do with monetary union, and Luxembourg, which does not have any currency of its own. France is close, and Germany could get there eventually. But other members, especially the poorer countries, are struggling to meet the convergence norms while fighting their way out of an economic slump.

E.C. economies are looking at less than one percent growth this year, their worst showing in a decade. This means lower tax revenues and less margin to trim deficit or debt. Governments are also under considerable political pressure not to cut too deeply while facing rising unemployment that has hit 10 percent community-wide — a total of 17 million workers without jobs. Belgium tried hard to tighten its belt

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*"E.C. economies are looking at less than one percent growth this year, their worst showing in a decade. This means lower tax revenues and less margin to trim deficit or debt."*

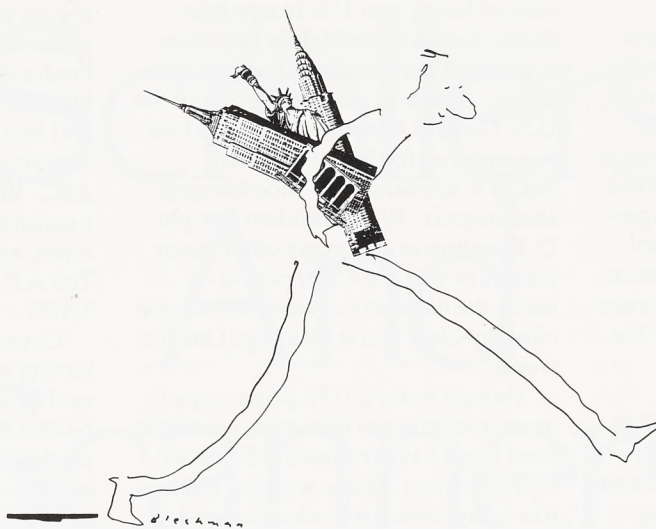
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and its government nearly fell in March. Belgian Finance Minister Philippe Maystadt says that sooner or later something has to give. "If the recession lasts, it appears evident that we will be collectively obliged to review the (Maastricht) criteria," he said before the government crisis. "If there is no good news for 1994, the call will be widespread."

Wherever the chips may fall in the ratification and convergence processes, some of the more die-hard countries are willing to pick them up and put them back together in some form of European union.

German officials say privately that if Denmark or Britain kill the treaty they are ready to call for an E.C. summit a week later to cobble together a mini-Maastricht. Even if several countries fall short on convergence, a core group of Germany, France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg may well go ahead and formalize the "two-speed" Europe that many believe is de facto in effect today.

"We do not want to leave behind the slower ones," says German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. "But it is not conceivable that the whole European convoy change down to the lowest gear."



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# In harm's way

## Rocky road lies ahead for young journalists

by Josh Friedman, Director  
The International Division  
Of The Columbia Graduate  
School Of Journalism

An intrepid friend, New York Times reporter Allison Mitchell, recently spoke to my international reporting course at the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism about her sudden assignment to Somalia in late 1992.

One day she was covering local news in New York - the next on a plane to Mogadishu with very little notice. It was the kind of adventure young journalism students dream of.

Notebooks flapping, Allison rushed each day through the anarchy of the city gathering information. Each night she retreated to the roof of the New York Times villa with a device she could barely describe to the class. Aiming it at the stars in the sky, she bounced her signal from one satellite to another, sending her story by modem to 43rd Street.

Even students who had grown up with computers were amazed at Allison's adventure on the roof of the villa - and a little disheartened. How would they break into covering foreign news?

Most young people with a yen to cover news abroad these days must do it on their own - without the machine the Times gave Allison, without her job security and without the backup a big paper can give someone at risk abroad.

Heading out with the hope of developing a freelance string, the young people I teach face a dangerous and uncertain future - and a world very different from that American journalists knew only a few years ago.

In the mid-1990's, I was on assignment for Newsday in Addis Ababa, near the scene of Allison's rooftop communications coup. When I wanted to evade anxious editors I could spend hours having trouble reaching the office. I had to struggle with a balky telex or shout dictated stories about famine over bad phone connections.

A few decades before, journalists could be cut off for days or even weeks. In "Remote People," Evelyn Waugh says colleagues covering Haile Selassie's 1930 coronation had to send their stories describing the event days



PHOTO BY DOUGLAS E. CURRAN, AFP

Covering dangerous stories such as the Afghan Mujahideen (above) can sadly cost young freelancers their lives.

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*"If you can't handle the cost and  
logistics of insurance, you can't handle the cost and  
logistics of a bullet wound."*

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before it occurred by sending runners to the telegraph office because communications were so bad. It took a young William Shirer weeks to send home his scoop on a coronation in Afghanistan.

These days, a young journalist starting out on the road goes out loaded down with laptop and a modem, still camera, a hi-S video camera and an audio tape recorder - but without the jobs that Waugh, Allison, or I had.

All but the largest news operations and the ubiquitous CNN are cutting back on foreign jobs for Americans, relying more on local freelance sources. American TV networks and the big newsweeklies have retreated almost entirely from large areas of the world like Latin America.

The idea of working one's way up to a foreign correspondent's job, or even a gofer job in a foreign bureau, is slim. So young people with the compulsion to cover foreign news, like my students, are striking out on their own - and facing danger. According to data from the Committee to Protect Journalists, young inexperienced journalists are paying the price in

growing numbers in danger spots like the former Yugoslavia.

The wars one covers these days are more often than not civil in nature and among irregulars and paramilitary nationalist troops, often little more than armed gangs. The front is ill-defined and journalists even become the targets.

Last year, I was one of several at the Committee who had the very painful job of unsuccessfully helping the mother of young freelance photographer Gad Gross, just out of Harvard, attempt to recover her son's still-missing body from northern Iraq, where he had apparently been shot by Iraqi troops.

On his death, Gross was on a speculative and tenuous freelance assignment with Newsweek. Freelancer Frank Smyth, who was with Gross when he disappeared, uses the horrible experience to complain that freelancers are on their own once in danger. The Committee has recently put out a pamphlet warning young freelancers "if you can't handle the cost and logistics of insurance, you can't handle the cost and logistics of a bullet wound."



# Assignment: peace dividend

(continued from page 37)

Moldovans, known, locally, as the Gagauz. The wine-makers of the former Soviet Moldova. Grandfathers cried, "Beware, if the Romanians take over, our nightmare will return!" They spoke of torture, of rape, of murder, at the hands of Romanians, back before Stalin invaded the land and drew up arbitrary borders. "As Soviets, we were protected by the State. Now, our blood will again be spilled!" So the Gagauz bought and stole weapons of their own from the local unit of the Red Army and, tractors-in-hand, sliced off their own rich vineyards from the rest of the fledgling nation.

And so the "skirmish" continues. . . the Romanian-speakers vs. the Russian- and Turkish-speakers. All once Moldovans. Now, all three have their flags, and their foreign policies. The Russian-speakers want to merge with Russia. So do the Gagauz. While Boris Yeltsin plays at diplomacy, his Russian Army joins in the fray, protecting the

Russian "brothers." Ergo, bigger guns. The "skirmish" has become full-blown trench warfare.

With the exception of a few wire reports, the struggle in Moldova goes unnoticed. Inside baseball, our editors say. Too remote, too few casualties. Why should we care? Etc.

But Moldova, like Bosnia, like Abkhazia - like a hundred other flash-points - is archetypical of our new "assignment": leaping into a Pandora's Box of ethnic rivalry, nationalist fervor, and age-old hatred, and coming out again with a story. And hopefully, a little truth. By comparison, the Old Story was easy . . . Us vs. Them, in a thousand variations. We the good guys, they the bad. But the New Story is blurred, complicated, contradictory: like Serb and Croat soldiers - all Bosnians, all former Yugoslavs - sneaking out at night to share a bottle of vodka, only to shoot and kill each other the next day, across their no-man's-land.

The New Story is everywhere. It splits apart villages, friends, families, marriages. It's a story of emotion spinning out of control. Of feuds so ancient no one can remember their genesis, of lands so patchwork ANYONE can

claim them. Of people forced, for so long, to get along, that they now equate freedom with revenge.

Be it Azeris shooting Armenians, or German teenagers fire bombing Romanian gypsies, or Romanian-speaking Moldovans attacking Russian-speaking Moldovans, or Darod clansmen massacring Hawiyes, the New Story will keep us just as gainfully employed as the Old. And doubly challenged. For it's no longer "over there" . . . it's in our own backyards. Yes, even in America . . . just ask the Blacks, the Koreans and the Latinos in South Central . . . or the Western Shoshone, who recently claimed one-third of Nevada, and parts of Idaho and California - some 21 million acres - as their Nation. A Ruby Treaty of 1863. Again, another era.

This is our "peace dividend." There are surely years to go before we need seriously consider a mid-career move to Music TeleVision or All Rock Radio or Architecture Digest. And if we plug away, who knows, commuters on Train #1 just might start talking about Moldova . . . or Bosnia . . . or Somalia . . . or any number of future datelines . . . before their sons and daughters are sent to fight there.

## GOODYEAR OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES

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**GOODYEAR**



## Maybe this time...

(continued from page 36)  
such enduring optimism - yet who's to prove it impossible? Maybe this time things will work out right.

For us, as journalists, there is no "maybe" here. No matter how things work out, it's our responsibility to report the progress and the results. It is not our place to enter into the conflict of ideas, but to record them fairly. It is not enough for us to tell our readers, viewers, and listeners that something has happened, we must also tell them why. We have to get tough, get smart, and start caring more. There's hardly a news organization that hasn't been battered by the economy in recent years: we need to stop complaining and start figuring out how we're going to adapt - and improve.

If Hegelian post-history ever does arrive on our doorstep, we journalists may not be the first to realize it - but it shouldn't change the way we do our work.

## Covering Hong Kong's press maze

(continued from page 41)  
and more about the rough and tumble world of Western journalism.

Under Mr. Patten, a seasoned, street-smart British politician who was appointed governor last summer, information from stately Government House has been much more forthcoming. But briefings are still not attributable beyond "a senior government official," and in some cases just "an official," who cannot be directly connected with the Hong Kong government.

Several years ago the British government established a Foreign Office spokesman here to talk about issues as local politicians began to question whether British interests were necessarily Hong Kong's interests.

While the task of reporting official views is becoming easier, unfortunately, the man on the street interview and

the "how this issue affects a typical family here" kind of story that is so important to foreign coverage is still difficult.

The population here is 98 percent ethnic Chinese, and many of them consider being stopped by a reporter and asked for their views of democracy to be bizarre and rude.

There is also a real and present danger in talking openly against China, as the Chinese have admitted they are keeping records on who is and who is not a "friend of China."

These records are probably restricted to high profile academics, politicians, journalists and businessmen here, but many locals are already looking over their shoulders and carefully censoring what they say.

Those who will talk, openly and for the record, are often the educated, professional Chinese who have decided to emigrate rather than chance life under China. And they have been leaving Hong Kong at a rate of 1,000 a week, which means today's source is often on a plane for Canada tomorrow.

*Barbara Basler writes for  
The New York Times*



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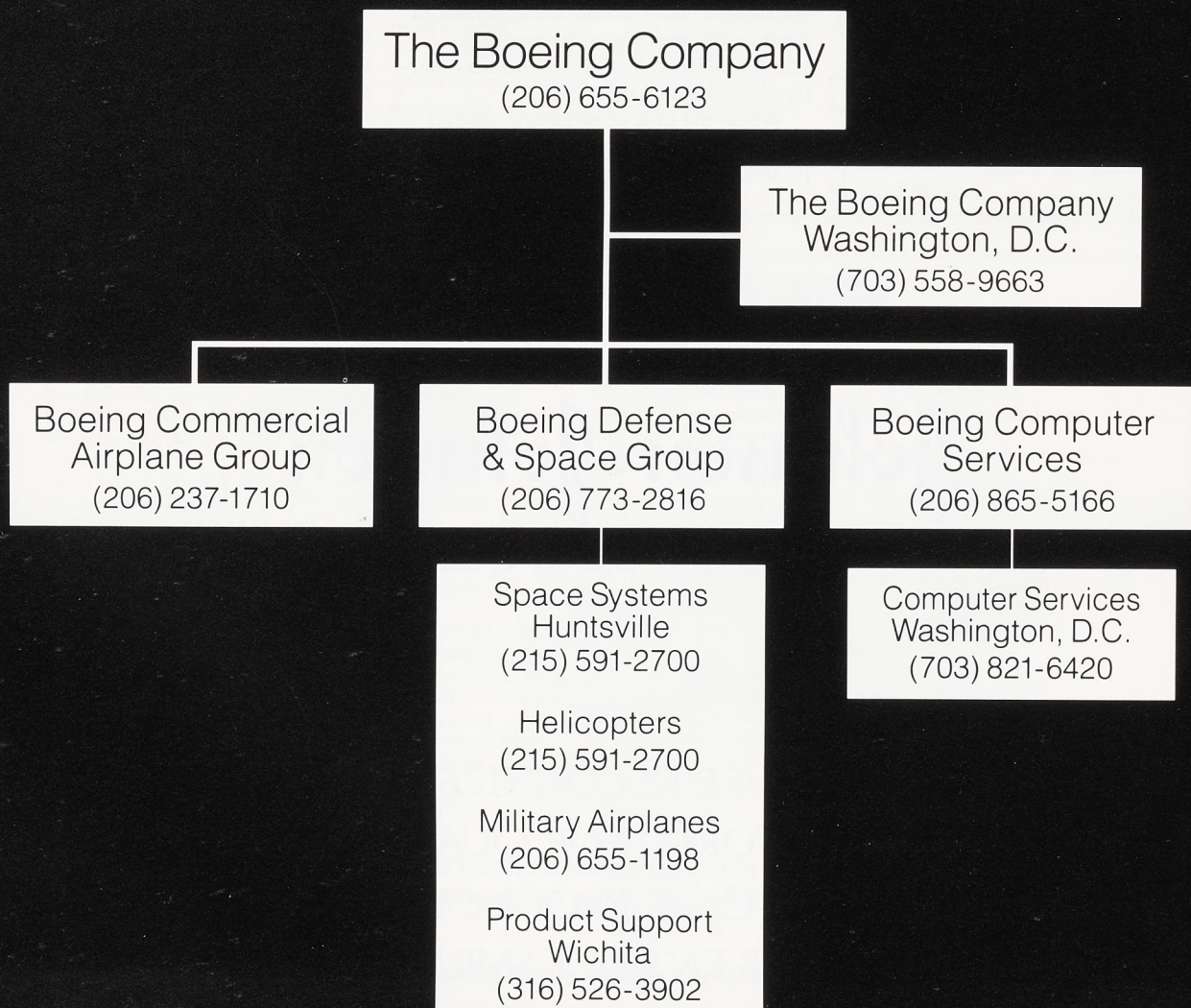


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# Clinton: A new sense of purpose

(continued from page 3)

As I said so often, in the global village there is no clear dividing line between domestic and foreign policy. We can't be strong abroad unless we are strong at home. And we can't be strong at home unless we engage actively abroad. Therefore, we also need a new sense of America's purposes abroad. During the Cold War, our foreign policies largely focused on the relations among nations. Our strategies sought a balance of power to keep the peace. Today, our policies must also focus on relations within nations. A nation's form of governance, economic structure, and ethnic tolerance are of concern to us, for they shape how it treats its neighbors as well as its own people. In particular, democracies are far less likely to wage war on other nations than dictatorships.

The international community cannot seek to heal every domestic dispute or resolve every ethnic conflict. But within practical bounds, and with a sense of

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*"Investment in world peace can never stop, or the gains of the past will be lost."*

---

strategic priorities, we must do what we can to promote the democratic spirit and economic reforms that can tip the balance for progress in the next century.

From the first hours of my administration, we have worked to address immediate challenges around the world. I am encouraged by progress we have made. Yet all of us must also focus on the larger questions that this new era presents. For if we act out of a larger sense of purpose and strategy, our work on the crises of the late Twentieth Century can lay the basis for a more peaceful and democratic world at the start of the Twenty-first.

The end of the long, twilight struggle does not ensure the start of a long peace. Like a wise homeowner who recognizes that you cannot stop invest-

ing in your house once you buy it, we cannot stop investing in the peace now that we have obtained it.

Nowhere is that engagement more important than in our policies toward Russia and the new independent states. Their struggle to build free societies is one of the great human dramas of our day. It presents the greatest security challenge for our generation. It offers one of the greatest economic opportunities of our lifetime.

Over the past month, the tumultuous events in Russia have filled our headlines. For most Americans, these events, while dramatic, are remote from their immediate concerns. We have our own problems and needs. We face a stagnant economy and the dislocations brought about by the end

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*"As we look upon Russia's challenges, we should remember all that the American and Russian people have in common."*

- The President

---

of the Cold War. Why should we help a distant people when times are hard at home?

My argument is this: we cannot guarantee the future of reform in Russia or the other states. Ultimately, that will be determined by what they do. Yet, for our own part, we must do what we can, and we must act now. It is not an act of charity. It is an investment in our own future. While our efforts will entail new costs, we can reap even larger dividends for our safety and prosperity.

To understand why, we must grasp the scope of the transformation occurring in Russia and the other states. From Vilnius on the Baltic to Vladivostok on the Pacific, we have witnessed a political miracle - heroic deeds - without precedent in human history. The other two world-changing events of this century, World War I and World War II, exacted a price of over 60 million lives. By contrast, this world-changing event has been remarkably bloodless, and we pray it remains so.

Nothing could contribute more to global freedom, security, and prosperity than the peaceful progression of Russia's rebirth. It could mean a mod-

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*"New economic powerhouses are changing the world financial order and can tip the balance of progress in the next century."*

---

ern state, at peace with itself and the world, productively and prosperously integrated into the global economy, a source of raw materials and manufactured products and a vast market for American goods and services. It could mean a populous democracy contributing to the stability of both Europe and Asia.

The burning question today is whether Russia's progress toward democracy and free markets will continue or be thwarted. I believe that freedom, like anything sweet, is hard to take from people once they have tasted it. The spirit, once released, is hard to bottle up again. Yet if we cannot be certain of how Russia's affairs will proceed, we are nonetheless certain of our own interests. Our interests lie with efforts that enhance our own security and prosperity. That is why our interests lie with Russian reform and Russian reformers.

America's position is unequivocal. We support democracy and free markets. We support respect for ethnic minorities in Russia and for Russian and other minorities throughout the region. I believe it is essential that we act prudently but urgently to do all that we can to strike a strategic alliance with Russian reform.

In the end, our hope for the future of Russian reform is rooted in our faith in the institutions that have secured our own freedom and prosperity. But it is also rooted in the Russian people. The diversity of their past accomplishments gives us hope there are diverse possibilities for their future. The vitality of Russian journalism and public debate today gives us hope that the great truth-seeking traditions of Russian culture will endure, and that Russia's anti-democratic demagogues will not in the long run prevail. And the discipline of Russia's military, which proved itself anew in August of 1991, gives us hope that Russia's transition can continue to be peaceful.



**New York  
Newspaper**

# PARADE

Rafael Navarro  
has been held  
in prison  
without charges  
since 1987.

The U.S. government has been holding more than 1800 Cuban detainees in American prisons—some for as long as 10 years—with no charges against them and often with no prospect of release. Thus, as Americans cringe at human-rights abuses abroad, perhaps we also should look closer to home. And, when such crimes of punishment occur, we might ask:

## WHO IS GUILTY?

A Special Report  
BY BERNARD GAVZER

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# Journalists seeking free press remain under attack in new world order

by Norman A. Schorr,  
Chairman, OPC Freedom  
of the Press Committee

Corruption, drug trafficking, demonstrations, military violence against civilians, nationalist and independence movements. Political and religion-based conflicts.

These are standard subjects for first-class reporting that win awards. Yet, coverage of these events in 1992 cost a shocking number of journalists freedom and even their lives.

Reports by press and human rights organizations reveal that press freedom continues to be illusory in many countries.

Freedom House reports a free press existed in only 67 countries of 177 countries examined in 1992. This compared with 61 of the 157 examined in 1991.

Sixty countries were found to have a partly free press in 1992, or nearly twice the number in 1991. This number was swelled by the many emerging ex-Soviet countries. Countries with no press freedom in 1992 was 50, or 15 fewer than 1991.

The Inter American Press Association (IAPA) said press freedom was a "dream deferred" in many countries in the Americas. This was true, IAPA said, not only in totalitarian countries such as Cuba, and military dictatorships such as Haiti, but also in some states presumed to be democracies — such as Peru, Venezuela and Colombia.

Freedom House said that cases of physical attack or other harassment of journalists totalled 1,222 in 1992, or about 20 percent more than the previous year. The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ) authenticated 1625 individual attacks in 107 countries, the highest ever reported. In response to the high journalist casualties in the former Yugoslavia, CPJ published a first-ever advisory on safety procedures for newsmen.

The absolute form of censorship - murder - continues at an alarming rate. In the last five years, at least 249 journalists have been killed.

In 1992, Freedom House says of 79 deaths of journalists in 22 countries, 53

were essentially murders for press reasons. The other 25 were journalists caught in the line of fire. CPJ reports 49 were killed or disappeared in 1992.

Heading this list were: Turkey with 11 killed, Bosnia 8 and the Philippines 4.

Freedom House said in 1992, 68 journalists received death threats and 64 were beaten. As of February, 1993, at least 90 journalists were held in prison, CPJ reported.

Asian and Middle Eastern governments held more than half of them. China topped the list, with 27, Kuwait had 18, Syria 9, and Myanmar, 5.

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## *The Committee To Protect Journalists lists those in prison or missing*

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ALGERIA: Salah Gouami, Director of Al-Mounidh, Arabic organ of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS), arrested in January 1992 after his paper published an FIS communique that called on soldiers to disobey orders to shoot at protesters.

BURUNDI: Renovat Ndikumana, of the government-controlled Agence Burundaise de Presse, arrested in 1991 at his home in Bujumbura. It is feared he has been tortured or executed.

CHINA: Liao Jia'an and Wang Shengli, co-editors of an unofficial student journal Everyone, arrested in June 1992, reportedly charged with counter-revolution. They are held at Banbuqiao Detention Center in Beijing; Wang Jun, reporter for People's Daily, arrested in May 1992 for allegedly giving state secrets to international media; Wu Shishen, reporter for Xinhua news agency, arrested in late 1992 for allegedly giving a Hong Kong journalist advance copy of General Secretary Jiang Zemin's speech to the party Congress. Unconfirmed reports say Wu was sentenced to 15 years; Fu Shenqi, a former Democracy Wall activist, arrested in May 1991 for involvement in an underground human rights journal. He was tried, reportedly, in March 1992 for "anti-socialist instigation."; Chen

Yanbin and Zhang Yafei, former university students, helped publish unofficial magazine Iron Currents about crackdown at Tiananmen Square. Charged with "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement", Chen was sentenced to 15 years and Zhang was sentenced to 11 years; Chen Cun, reporter for Yueyang bureau of News Pictorial Magazine, sentenced in 1990 to five years on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement."; Mei Shi, Editor-in-chief of Yueyang Evening News in Hunan Province, received a four-year sentence in 1990 on charges of "counterrevolutionary propaganda and incitement." He published articles exposing corruption in the Communist Party; Chen Ziming and Wang Juntao, publisher and editor, respectively of Economics Weekly, sentenced to 13 years in 1991. Both were labeled the "black hands" behind the Tiananmen Square demonstrations, and convicted of counterrevolutionary activities; Fan Jianping, an editor at Beijing Daily, was arrested sometime after June 4, 1989; Ji Kunxing, Shang Jingzhong, Shi Ying and Yu Anmin, publishers of underground magazine Pioneers, were tried in Kunming in 1989 on charges of fomenting a counterrevolutionary plot; Jin Naiyi, journalist for Beijing Daily, arrested sometime after June 4, 1989; Li Jian, journalist with Literature and Arts News, arrested in 1989; Ren Wanding, a former Democracy Wall journalist who founded the underground publication China Human Rights League, and supported the 1989 student democracy movement in speeches and articles calling for freedom of expression was sentenced in 1991 to seven years; Tseten Norgye, reportedly for distributing "counterrevolutionary" literature, was arrested in Lhasa in April 1989 and sentenced in 1991 to four years; Wu Xuccan, an editor-in-charge of People's Daily overseas edition, was sentenced by the Beijing People's Intermediate Court in February 1992 to four years for "spreading counterrevolutionary propaganda."; Yang Hong, a reporter for China Youth News, was arrested in (continued on page 61)



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# Murder of journalists remains major concern

(continued from page 59)

1989 in Kunming, charged with circulating "rumor-mongering leaflets" and protesting against corruption; Yu Zhongmin, a journalist with Law Monthly in Shanghai, was arrested sometime after June 4, 1989 and described in Wenhui Daily as an "agitator" in Shanghai demonstrations; Liu De, a member of the editorial board of the Jianna Literature and Arts Journal in Sichuan Province, was sentenced to seven years in 1987 for "vilifying the socialist system; Xu Wenli, co-founder of the outspoken April Fifth Forum, was sentenced in 1982 to 15 years; Zhu Jianbin, a co-founder of Sound of the Bell, met with activists from the All-China Association of the Democratic Press in 1980. He was arrested in 1981. Reports that he was released in 1992 have not been confirmed; Wei Jingsheng, Editor of Explorations, was arrested in 1979 and sentenced to 15 years. Reports indicate years of solitary confinement have severely damaged his health.

CUBA: Yndamiro Restano, a reporter with Radio Rebelde, was fired in 1985 for talking to a foreign journalist. He was arrested in 1991, accused of "preparing printed material inciting civil disobedience and actions against socialist society." In 1992, he was sentenced to 10 years.

GHANA: George Naykene, Editor-in-chief of the Christian Chronicle, was arrested in 1991 charged with criminal libel and sentenced the following May to 18 months. The charges stemmed from an article and letter to editor published in 1991 which alleged members of the Armed Forces Revolutionary Council, headed then by President Rawlings, benefited from a foreign loan.

INDIA: S. Avtar Sing Mander, journalist with the Daily Ajit newspaper, was arrested September 23, 1992 and held since without being charged.

INDONESIA: Arswendo Atmowiloto, Editor of Monitor, was sentenced in April 1991, to five years on charges of insulting Islam. Publishing results of a readers' opinion poll in which the Prophet Mohammed placed 11th among admired figures was the basis of his arrest; Adnan

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*The Inter American Press Association said that press freedom was a "dream deferred in many countries in the Americas."*

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Beuransyah, journalist with newspaper Serambi Indonesia, was arrested in 1990, charged with subversion and sentenced in March 1991 to eight years.

IRAN: Naser Arabha, Editor of the science magazine Farad, which published cartoon that depicted a religious figure as a soccer player who was missing a hand and half a leg. He was arrested in April 1992 and five months later was convicted of acting against internal security and insulting the exalted Imam Khomeini. He was sentenced to six months; Salman Heidari, reporter for the Tehran daily Salam, was arrested in late June 1992 and accused of espionage. It is unclear whether or not Heidari has been formally charged; Karimzadeh, a staffer at the science magazine Farad, was arrested in April 1992 and sentenced to one year.

IRAQ: Aziz al-Syed Jasim, Editor of Al-Ghad magazine and former editor of the official daily Al Thawra, was taken into custody in Baghdad in April 1991 and has not been heard of since. Jasim was interrogated by secret police after refusing to write on behalf of the government during the Gulf War.

ISRAEL AND THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES: Ahmad al-Khatib, a Gaza Strip cameraman for Visnews, arrested in September 1992, because he photographed armed activists of the Izz al-Din al-Qassam Brigades and gave the tape to the unit. Al-Khatib faces charges, including providing services to an illegal organization; Mousa Qous, a reporter with the English-edition of Al-Fajr weekly, arrested in October 1991 and sentenced in November to four years for membership in the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and for instructing others to write graffiti.

KUWAIT: Fawwaz Muhammad al-Awadi Bessisso, Ibtisam Berto Sulaiman al-Dakhil, Usamah Subail

Abdallah Hussein, Abd al-Rahman Muhammad Asad al-Husseini and Ahmad abd Mustafa - Arrested after Kuwait's liberation, these five journalists were given life sentences for working with Iraqi occupation newspaper Al-Nida. Charged with collaboration, the defendants were reportedly to tortured during their interrogations; Wafa Wasfi Ahmad, Belqiss Hafez Fadhel, Zekarayat Mahmoud Harb, Walid Hassan Muhammad Karaka, Rahim Muhammad Najem and Ghazi Mahmoud al-Sayyed - These three men and three women were sentenced to hard labor for 10 years for their "supporting role in helping to publish Al-Nida." The defendants were reportedly tortured during interrogation; Daoud Suleiman al-Qarneh, Hassan al-Khalili, Muhammad Zahran and Nawwaf Izzedin al-Khatib - These four Palestinian journalists were sentenced in June, 1992 because they had worked for Al-Nida; Bassam Fouad Abiad, Mufid Mustafa Abd al-Rahim and Ghazi Alam al-Dine - In July 1992 they were convicted for their work on Al-Nida. Abiad, a Lebanese, was sentenced to 15 years, Abd al-Rahim, a Palestinian, was sentenced to 10 years. Alam al-Dine, a Jordanian and former editor at KUNA, was sentenced to 10 years, although he worked only 12 hours for Al-Nida.

LEBANON: Kazem Akhavan, photographer for the official Iranian press agency (IRNA), kidnapped at a militia checkpoint south of Tripoli in 1982. Reports that he was killed soon after have never been confirmed.

LIBYA: Abdallah Ali al-Sanussi al-Darrat, journalist and writer from Benghazi, arrested in 1974 or 1975 and held since without trial.

MALDIVES: Mohammed Shafeeq, Editor of independent paper Sangu (banned in June 1990), arrested in November and in December 1991 sentenced to 11 years. He was charged with detonating a bomb in a public park. There is reason to believe he was tortured; Mohammed Nasheed, held responsible for an article in a Sri Lankan paper, The Island, and for BBC interviews critical of the Maldives

(continued on page 62)



# Angered governments resort to intimidation

(continued from page 61)

government, was placed under six-month house arrest in August 1990; The editorial assistant at Sangu was imprisoned three months later, charged with withholding information about an alleged terrorist, Sangu editor, Mohammed Shafeeq; Ilyas Hussein, a journalist for Manthiri newspaper, arrested in 1990, and reportedly moved to house arrest on November 2, 1992.

MYANMAR (Formerly BURMA): Sein Hlaing, publisher of What's Happening, a satirical news magazine, arrested in 1990 and sentenced to seven years; Myo Myint Nyein, arrested in 1990 for contributing to What's Happening, sentenced to seven years; U Maung Lay Ngwe, writer arrested in 1990 for writing and distributing publications which "make people lose respect for the government."; Win Tin, former editor of two daily newspapers and officer of Burma's Writer's Association, was active in establishing

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*"Emerging countries in the former Soviet Union dropped some absolute authoritarian controls that existed beforehand."*

---

independent publications during 1988 student democracy movement. He was sentenced to three years and is reported to be gravely ill; Nay Min, a lawyer and BBC correspondent, was arrested in 1988 and sentenced in 1989 to 14 years' hard labor.

RWANDA: Janvier Africa, editor of the Kigali-based monthly newspaper, Umurava, was arrested in September 1992. He has been charged with "threatening the head of state" in articles alleging that individuals close to President Habyarimana and a Hutu extremist group, were involved in death squad operations.

SUDAN: Muhammad Abd el-Seed, Khartoum bureau chief of the London-based Arabic-daily Al-Sharq al-Awsat, arrested in January 1993, after security forces raided its offices; Muhammed

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*"The absolute form of censorship - murder - has continued at an alarming rate. In the last five years, at least 249 journalists have been killed."*

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Sid Ahmad Atiq and Tijana al-Hussein, journalists with Al-Hadaf, underground organ of the Ba'ath Party, were detained in May 1992 and have been held without charge. Atiq's family reported they heard he was being severely tortured.

SYRIA: Ahmad Hasso, a Kurdish writer and freelance journalist whose work has appeared in the Lebanese paper, Al-Safir, was arrested in March 1992 and is held without charge or trial; Salama George Kila, a Palestinian writer and journalist, was arrested March 1992 in Damascus, and reportedly being held without charge or trial; Nizar Nayouf, a journalist who has contributed to Al-Huriyya and Al-Thaqafa al-Ma'arifa, arrested in January 1992 in Damascus. In March 1992, he was sentenced to 10 years for "disseminating false information and receiving money from abroad."; Anwar Bader, a reporter for Syrian radio and television, arrested in 1986 and accused of membership in Party for Communist Action. He is reportedly imprisoned without charge or trial; Samir al-Hassan, Palestinian editor of Fatah al-Intifada, was arrested in 1986 because of membership in party for Communist Action; Izzat al Mahmoud, a Syrian journalist in Beirut, was turned over to Syrian government by Lebanese authorities in 1982 and held since then; Ahmad Swaidan, a reporter for Kifah al-Umal al-Ishtiraki, arrested in 1982 on suspicion of membership in Baa'ath Party's February 23 movement; Rida Haddad, an editorial writer for daily Tishrin, arrested in 1980, accused of membership in Communist Party Political Bureau, and held without charge or trial; Abdallah Muqdad, a journalist with Syrian Arab News Agency arrested in 1980 on suspicion of membership in Ba'ath Party's

February 23 movement.

TUNISIA: Hamadi Jebali, Editor of Al-Fajr, weekly newspaper of banned Islamist Al-Nahda party, sentenced to 16 years in Bouchoucha on August 28, 1992. Jebali convicted of "aggression with the intention of changing the nature of the state" and "membership in an illegal organization." Jebali denied the charges and displayed evidence that he had been tortured while in custody; Abdallah Zouari, a contributor to Al-Fajr, was sentenced to 11 years on August 28, 1992. He had been detained since February 1991, when charged with "association with an unrecognized organization."

TURKEY: Stephan Waldborg, a freelancer for Germany's Freiburg-based Radio Dreyeckland, detained in October 1991, after crossing into Turkey from Iraq. He was convicted on January 22, 1993 of acting as a courier for outlawed Kurdish Worker's Party and sentenced to 45 months.

VIETNAM: Nguyen Dan Que, sentenced to 20 years in November 1991 on charges of compiling and distributing subversive literature; Doan Viet Hoat, arrested in 1990 for alleged membership in underground group, Freedom Forum (Dien Dan Tu Do), that published a reformist newsletter. He had previously been arrested in 1976 and released in 1988; Chau Son (Nguyen Doc Thuan) and Le Nguyen Ngu (Ho Nam), both journalists before Communist rule established in Vietnam in 1975, were arrested in late 1990 reportedly for involvement in the underground Freedom Forum.

WESTERN SAHARA: Bahi Mohamed, a Moroccan journalist, disappeared in 1986 while reporting from Tindouf, in western Algeria. An Algerian newspaper reported he had been arrested for plotting assassination of Polisario General Secretary Mohamed Abdelaziz. An official claims Mohamed is at liberty and free to return to Morocco, but this not been confirmed. Embarca Bint Taleb Ould Hussein, an announcer at Radio Sahara, abducted from her home in 1979. It is unclear who is holding her. Amnesty International reports that plainclothes police searched her home shortly before she was taken. Her status is unknown.





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# Who's behind the White House door?

## Perils of covering new administration

by Rupert Cornwell  
The Independent

WASHINGTON - The awful truth is starting to sink in. For the press, this is not going to be a user-friendly Administration. And worse still, this Administration doesn't seem to give a damn. Every time the guard changes in the White House, the journalistic community in Washington, domestic and foreign alike, has to start from scratch. Old sources suddenly run dry. New faces, new priorities, even a new language of power must be learned. But even by these standards, the arrival of Bill Clinton at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue has been a rude shock.

For the European correspondent facing early afternoon deadlines, the most immediate requirement has been adjustment to a different Presidential body clock. Whatever one thought of his politics, in terms of his routine George Bush was a dream. Early-to-rise and early-to-bed, he wrapped up most of his serious business by noon, and the big Federal agencies took the hint. By lunch time, barring Gulf-like crises, official Washington was off the radar screen, nicely in time for first edition in London.

Much the same went for Capitol Hill. Bush's relations with Congress were appalling. Gridlock and veto meant nothing much of lasting importance would happen there. John Sununu, Bush's egregiously arrogant Chief of Staff, famously pronounced in autumn 1990, half-way through his boss' term, that Congress had passed all the domestic legislation that was needed. As far as he was concerned, the place could pack its bags and go home.

No longer. In his first four weeks, Bill Clinton spent more time on Capitol Hill than his predecessor did in four years. Not since Lyndon Johnson sought to build his Great Society has this city seen such legislative activism. And for all his advertised dawn jogging, this President is essentially a late person. He may start work in relatively low key. But by midday he's humming. Not until later evening at the earliest does the pace let up. These days, European reporters in



PHOTO BY JEFF MITCHELL, REUTERS

President Clinton runs the gauntlet of cameras and reporters he encounters during the course of his day. The most celebrated locked door in Washington is the one that leads from the briefing room to the Press Secretary's office.

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*"In this Administration, titles mean remarkably little."*

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Washington are re-acquiring a half forgotten habit, of re writing stories for later editions. Life in short is more interesting and exciting.

But the buzz does have its drawbacks. Clinton is chronically late, and despite the youthful informal veneer of his White House, obsessively secretive and slyly contemptuous of the established media order. The signs are both symbolic and intangible. The most celebrated locked door in town is the one which divides the White House press room from the stairs leading up to the Press Secretary's office in the West Wing. Every President since Kennedy - even Nixon in the darkest hours of Watergate - had kept it open. Now the nouveau regime of baby boomers has slammed it shut.

The message and the massage these days are aimed not at a national public reached through the national media who cram the White House briefing room and attend those ever rarer set-piece news conferences in the pomp of the East Room — but at specially targeted local audiences and constituencies, tapped by multi-city hook-ups on satellite TV. The traditional White House press corps, predictably, hates this

creeping revolution: the very transcripts of the daily briefings of spokesman George Stephanopoulos hiss with mutual venom.

Per se of course, these verbal fisticuffs do not greatly matter to the foreign correspondent. Time pressures alone mean we rarely attend White House or other departmental briefings. We have the priceless - indeed essential - boon of a reliable and thorough domestic press to do much of our leg work for us. More subtly though, the Clinton style makes life more awkward. At an organizational level, youthful informality can degenerate into muddle; the frigid efficiency of the Bush White House is a distant but increasingly fond memory.

The toughest thing though is coming to grips with the Clinton modus operandi. In this Administration titles mean remarkably little. The Clinton way is of task forces, brainstorming, and loosely structured cluster groups, peopled less by the top officials you might expect, than by members of that most awesome of networks, the "Friends of Bill." In terms of clout, this means a fellow 1968 Rhodes Scholar, even of technically lowly rank, often counts for far more than a deputy Cabinet secretary. Logistically, it means a late night supper at the home of an FOB can decide far more than a set-piece Departmental meeting. It's not just a new set of faces we're dealing with. It's a new chemistry of power.



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